

D E D I C A T I O N.

your care: in these you have been long exercised with great honour and success; and by these you have gained the affection of foreign princes, as well as of our own sovereign.

Politeness joined with dignity, a just discernment with an easy address, and a facility of expressing the noblest sentiments in the most becoming language, are endowments universally allowed to your LORDSHIP: such qualities have justly recommended you to the esteem of that prince, who makes the welfare of his subjects the great end of his government. May your LORDSHIP long enjoy, under his happy reign, all the pleasures and advantages which are due to your distinguished merit. I am, with great respect,

MY LORD,

YOUR LORDSHIP'S

most obedient

humble servant,

London,
January, 1753.

Jonas Hanway.

C O N T E N T S

OF THE

F O U R T H V O L U M E.

P A R T I.

The birth and life of NADIR KOU LI, from 1687, till his putting TÆH-
MAS SHAH in possession of MESCHED in 1727.

Chap. I. **T**HE name of the PERSIAN usurper, his birth, captivity, robberies,
and employment in the service of a BEG, whom he murders; he mar-
ries the daughter of the deceased, and retires into the mountains: his engagement in
the service of the governor of KHORASAN: he commands an expedition against the
OUSEBEGS, acquires great honour, and is afterwards disgraced. page 1

II. NADIR retires to KÆLAT, and is well received by his uncle. From thence he re-
treats into the mountains, where he forms a strong party, and robs for several years.
The AFGHANS take ISFAHAN. SEF O DIN BEG deserts SHAH TÆHMAS. NA-
DIR's uncle obtains a pardon for his nephew of the SHAH. NADIR's treacherous
conduct in seizing KÆLAT. He beats a strong party of the AFGHANS, takes NI-
CHABUR, and reinforces his army with 1000 men. 8.

III. NADIR KOU LI bears of the distress of SHAH TÆHMAS at FARABAD, desires his
pardon, and obtains it. He joins his forces with those under the command of FATEY
ALI KHAN², whom he afterwards kills, and acquires the sole command of the army.
He conducts SHAH TÆHMAS to NICHABUR, and from thence to MESCHED. SHAH
TÆHMAS's devotion in that city. 14

P A R T II.

From the recovery of the whole province of KHORASAN in 1728, to the
expulsion of SULTAN ASHREFF out of ISFAHAN in 1729.

IV. TÆHMAS KOU LI KHAN reduces KHORASAN and HERAT. He returns in triumph
to MESCHED, with the head of the governor of HERAT. SHAH TÆHMAS sends an
VOL. IV. b embassa-

embassador to the OTTOMAN court. The TURKS send SULIMAN EFFENDI into PERSIA. ASHREFF destroys SAID ACHMED KHAN governor of KHERMAN, and prepares to attack TÆHMAS SHAH. ASHREFF marches to DAMGOON, and is defeated; he retreats to ISFAHAN, and encamps his troops at MOURTCHAKHOR. page 21

Chap. V. TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN engages the SHAH to remain at TEHIRAN. The battle of MOURTCHAKHOR. ASHREFF murders SHAH HUSSEIN, and flies from ISFAHAN. The city taken by the PERSIAN army. The PERSIANS revenge themselves on the AFGHANS. SHAH TÆHMAS enters ISFAHAN, and gives his general TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN, the power of raising money. 30

P A R T - III.

From the total defeat of the AFGHANS in January 1730, till TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN is chosen king in March 1736.

VI. ASHREFF stops at SHIRASS. TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN marches and defeats the AFGHANS the 15th of January 1730. Flight, distress, and death of ASHREFF. TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN marches against the TURKS, and takes HAMADAN and TAVRIS, he makes a truce, returns to HERAT, reduces that province, and marches into KHORASAN. The SHAH marches to ERIVAN, obtains some advantages over the TURKS, and is afterwards defeated near the ARAS, and again at HAMADAN. 37

VII. An account of the revolution in TURKEY. The GRAND VIZIR and several other great officers put to death. ACHMED III. dethroned. MAHOMMED advanced to the government. The extraordinary adventures of PATRONA KALIL, chief of the rebels. 44

VIII. ACHMED BASHA of BAGDAT, negotiates a peace with the PERSIANS in January 1732. TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN augments his army in KHORASAN. He disapproves of the peace with the TURKS, and enters into intrigues with his officers. He makes his son governor of KHORASAN, arrives at ISFAHAN in August 1732, and endeavours to vindicate his conduct to the SHAH. 63

IX. KOULI KHAN seizes SHAH TÆHMAS. The infant ABAS elected king. Intrigues of KOULI KHAN. TÆHMAS SHAH removed to SEBSAWAR. The two sons of KOULI KHAN nominated to the principal governments. His manifesto disclaiming the peace with the TURKS. TOPAL OSMAN BASHA appointed scraskier of the TURKISH army. KOULI KHAN marches to BAGDAT. 69

C O N T E N T S.

Chap. X. *Description of BAGDAT. This city is besieged. The conduct of KOULI KHAN. The vigilance of ACHMED BASHA. Stratagem of TOPAL OSMAN. The PERSIAN army defeated with great slaughter. Letter of ACHMED BASHA to the GRAND SIGNIOR. Great rejoicings at the OTTOMAN court for the victory over the PERSIANS. TOPAL OSMAN sends his army into quarters.* page 73

XI. *TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN prepares for another action: his stratagem. TOPAL OSMAN obliged to continue in his command. POULAK BASHA abandons the post of TAKAJAK. TOPAL OSMAN collects his forces, and meets the PERSIANS. Battle of LEILAM the 22d of October. Second battle of LEILAM. TOPAL OSMAN killed, and the TURKISH army routed. ABDALLAH KOUPROLI, BASHA of CAIRO appointed generalissimo.* 93

XII. *The education, and most remarkable incidents of the life of TOPAL OSMAN BASHA; with a particular account of his gratitude and great generosity to his benefactor, who ransomed him in his youth from slavery.* 100

XIII. *TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN acquaints the RUSSIAN court of his success. ACHMED BASHA prepares to stand another siege. MAHOMMED KHAN BALOUCHE declares for TÆHMAS SHAH at SHIRASS; is defeated by KOULI KHAN, and hangs himself. The TURKS prepare to take the field. KOULI KHAN marches into GEORGIA the beginning of 1734, and takes TELIS. Description of that country. SELIM BASHA retires out of GEORGIA. KOULI KHAN takes GANJA and SHAMAKIE.* 109

XIV. *The TURKS desire a peace. KOULI KHAN sends an ambassador to the RUSSIAN court. ABDALLAH KOUPROLI gives battle to KOULI KHAN in the valley of ARPAKAVI, and is slain, together with 20,000 TURKS. ABDALLAH BASHA retreats to CARS. CARA ACHMED appointed seraskier of the TURKISH army. ERIVAN taken. The TURKS declare war against the RUSSIANS. KOULI KHAN'S conduct towards that nation.* 116

P A R T IV.

From the electing of TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN king of PERSIA in 1736, till his return from his memorable expedition into INDIA in 1740.

XV. *The young SHAH ABAS dies. The RUSSIANS evacuate DERBEND, and yield up their conquests in PERSIA. TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN declared king. Conditions of ac-*

accepting the diadem. The MULLAH BASHI put to death. NADIR coins money, and seizes the lands of the church. Edict concerning the sect of the SUNNIS and SCHIAS. page 123

XVI. *NADIR SHAH marches to CASBIN, and sends an ambassador to TURKEY. The GRAND SIGNIOR's orders to ACHMED BASHA concerning peace. All the conquered provinces yielded up to PERSIA. NADIR SHAH marches to ISFAHAN. Great preparations for an expedition against KANDAHAR.* 131

XVII. *A succinct account of the incursion of the MAHARRATTAS, and the enmity between NIZAM AL MULUCK governor of DECCAN, and DEVRAN KHAN, the first minister of MAHOMMED SHAH, emperor of HINDOSTAN, with the general state of his court from 1720 to 1736, preparatory to the expedition of NADIR SHAH into INDIA.* 138

XVIII. *Reflections on the different characters of ALEXANDER the GREAT and NADIR SHAH. Moral considerations on false glory. Motives to ALEXANDER and NADIR's invading INDIA. NADIR leaves ISFAHAN in December 1736. Conduct of HUSSEIN KHAN governor of KANDAHAR, and of the AFGHANS. RIZA KOULI MYRZA subdues the OUSBEGS of BALKH and BOCKHARA. His indiscreet conduct in PERSIA. INDIAN lords correspond with NADIR.* 143

XIX. *The news of the taking of CABUL arrives at DEHLIE. Measures taken to oppose the PERSIAN army. Jealousy between NIZAM AL MELUCK and DEVRAN KHAN. NADIR sends an embassy and writes to MAHOMMED SHAH. The difficulty which NADIR encounters in going from CABUL to the banks of the INDUS. PEISHOR taken. ZECHARIAH KHAN, governor of LAHOR, acquaints the court of his situation. The INDIAN army marches to KARNAL.* 152

XX. *NADIR's pomp when he entered the INDIAN territories. His manner of passing rivers. Short account of the INDUS. NADIR passes this river. JEMINABAD and LAHOR taken. NADIR arrives on the plains of KARNAL.* 160

XXI. *The number of the PERSIAN army. SAADIT KHAN arrives at the INDIAN camp. He and DEVRAN KHAN begin the engagement. NADIR's stratagem to draw the INDIANS to battle. SAADIT KHAN taken prisoner; and DEVRAN KHAN mortally wounded. NADIR's manner of opposing the INDIAN elephants. Loss of the INDIANS in the field. Distress of the INDIAN camp after the battle. Interview between NADIR and NIZAM AL MULUCK, also between the PERSIAN king and the GREAT*

GREAT MOGHOL. Numbers of the INDIANS slain in marauding. MAHOMMED SHAH delivers himself into the hands of NADIR. INDIAN effects sealed up in DEHLIE. page 164

Chap. XXII. *March of the PERSIAN and INDIAN armies from KARNAL to DEHLIE. NADIR's entrance into DEHLIE. SAADIT KHAN destroys himself. Massacre of DEHLIE. NADIR's conduct after the massacre.* 173

XXIII. *Male-administration of RIZA KOULI MYRZA, regent of PERSIA. Rebellion of the ARABS against the PERSIAN government. Conduct of the PERSIAN ambassador at CONSTANTINOPLE.* 180

XXIV. *NADIR gives his soldiers a gratuity. Contribution of AUDIH brought to DEHLIE. SIRBULLIND KHAN appointed, chief collector of the contribution. His declaration to NIZAM AL MULUCK. Barbarous treatment of the INDIANS in collecting the contributions. The value of the treasure collected.* 183

XXV. *NADIR marries his second son to the niece of MAHOMMED SHAH. The presents he makes to that prince and the INDIAN lords. The great MOGHOL's cession of all the country on the west of the INDUS. NADIR's advice to that prince. He begins his march from DEHLIE, and musters his army. Value of the damage done the INDIANS.* 188

XXVI. *NADIR continues his march from the gardens of SHALIMAR. An instance of his cunty and avarice. His cruelty towards numbers of the peasants. Contribution of LAHOR. His passage over the CHANTRON obstructed. He returns back towards LAHOR. Confederacy of the AFGHANS and INDIANS to oppose his passage through the defiles. He seizes the plunder belonging to his own soldiers. His march to PEISHOR. KHUDAYAR KHAN refuses to acknowledge the sovereignty of NADIR, and is reduced. NADIR pursues his march to KANDAHAR. He sends his treasures to KÆLAT, and conquers KHIEVA and BOCKHARA.* 198

XXVII. *NADIR returns to PERSIA. RIZA KOULI MYRZA murders SHAH TÆHMAS and makes an attempt against his father's life. Conduct of NADIR towards his son. He arrives in the neighbourhood of ISFAHAN.* 208.

C O N T E N T S.

P A R T V.

From the return of NADIR SHAH to ISFAHAN from his INDIAN expedition in 1740, till he was assassinated in 1747.

Chap XXVIII. *Reflections on the vanity of military exploits. NADIR sends a pompous embassy to RUSSIA, and another to TURKEY. Circumstances of the TURKS. NADIR's demands on them. His war with the ARABIANS. His conduct towards the ARMENIAN patriarch. His project of introducing a new religion into PERSIA. He orders a translation of the evangelists. Comparison of his character, and that of AKBAR formerly emperor of INDIA.* page 212

XXIX. *Revolt of the MUNTISICKS from the TURKISH government. Short description of them and their country. The city of BASSORA under alarm from the ARABS. Conduct of ACHMED BASHA. BASSORA threatened with a siege from the PERSIANS. NADIR marches against the LESGEES; and meets with several repulses in DAGISTAN. The RUSSIANS alarmed at his approach. The LESGEES desire the protection of RUSSIA. The PERSIANS make war with the ARABIANS, and are repulsed. Distress of PERSIA. Dangerous situation of the TURKS. They reduce the ARABIAN rebels. Great preparations in PERSIA for a war.* 221

XXX. *NADIR's projects to distress the TURKS. Critical circumstance of ACHMED BASHA of BAGDAT. NADIR leaves DAGISTAN. Intrigues of the OTTOMAN court. NADIR sends ambassadors to BAGDAT. The GRAND SIGNIOR declares war against the PERSIANS. NADIR's plan of operations for the campaign.* 223

XXXI. *The TURKS put themselves in a state of defence. The BACTIARIS and BALOUCHES revolt. The TURKS send a pretender into PERSIA, who is joined by a great body of LESGEES and PERSIANS in SHIRVAN. They are defeated by the PERSIAN forces under the command of NEZR ALI MYRZA. Rebellion of TACHHI KHAN in SHIRASS suppressed.* 239

XXXII. *Rebellion of ASTRABAD. ENGLISH merchants plundered. NADIR returns from TURKEY into PERSIA. Report concerning his abdication. Distress of PERSIA. The TURKS make great preparations for war. NADIR marches into the TURKISH dominions. Battle fought near ERIVAN. The TURKS defeated.* 244

C O N T E N T S.

xv

Chap. XXXIII. *NADIR makes a peace with the TURKS. The RUSSIANS send an ambassador to NADIR. Revolt of the GEORGIANS NADIR's barbarities at ISFAHAN and KHERMAN. Revolt of THAMARAS KHAN and ALI KOULI KHAN.* page 254

XXXIV. *NADIR marches to MESCHED; and from thence to the plains of SULTAN MEYDAN. He intends to massacre part of his own army, but is himself assassinated. Dispersion of the PERSIAN army. Motives of NADIR's supposed intention of a massacre. Reflection on his death.* 260

P A R T VI.

The character of NADIR SHAH.

XXXV. *Reflections on the death and general character of NADIR SHAH. An account of his person, voice, strength, arms, valour, memory, diet, dress, love of women, cruelty, avarice, distrust, artfulness, clemency, liberality, generalship, politics, &c.* 265

P A R T VII.

The short and unfortunate reign of ADIL SHAH.

XXXVI. *ALI KOULI KHAN elected king of PERSIA at MESCHED. He sends his brother IBRAHIM MYRZA to ISFAHAN, and commits several cruelties. He solicits the friendship of RUSSIA. The revolt of AMUR ASLAN KHAN, also of IBRAHIM MYRZA. The death of ZORAB KHAN The defeat of ADIL SHAH, and his brother IBRAHIM MYRZA, &c.* 284

E R R A T A

ERRATA to the THIRD VOLUME.

Page 2 line 9 for country, read, country and p 2 to l 25 TYGRIS, r EUPHRATES. p 7 l 20 which, r who.
 p 14 l 2 MANOMMED, r MAGHMUD p ditto, note, dele ALBANIA now SHIRVAN pages 15 18 and 20.
 BABELON, r BAGDAT p 20 l 15 import, r important. p 29 l 23. the, r this. p 32 l 5 dele no p 46
 l 26 in town, r in th^e town p 52 note, PERSIANS, r GERMANS p 64 l 21 excursions, r incursions p 115.
 l. 12 took occasion, & were compelled. p 127. l 21. this, r. his p 247. l 30 PERSIAN army, & AFGHAN army.

ERRATA to the FOURTH VOLUME.

Page 16 line 23 dele good p 17 l 30 for so much awed that he, read, was awed and p 26 l. 14. folders, r loud cry.
 p 88 l 19 Trumpet. He has, r trumpet, has p 101 l 1 twenty five, r thirty five p 119 l 26 55,000, &
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 2, r 1 p 180 l 0, injurious, r injurious p 184, l. 29 a heav^r weight to the, & m. sc. p 257. note, CASPIAN,
 & ARCHIPELAGO. p 65, l. 6 dele poor.

VOL. IV, PART I.

THE

BIRTH AND LIFE

OF

NADIR KOULI,

FROM 1687,

TILL HIS PUTTING TÆHMAS SHAH
IN POSSESSION OF MESCHED IN 1727.

CHAP. I.

The name of the PERSIAN usurper, his birth, captivity, robberies, and employment in the service of a BEG, whom he murders; he marries the daughter of the deceased, and retires into the mountains: his engagement in the service of the governor of KHORASAN: he commands an expedition against the OUSBEGS, acquires great honour, and is afterwards disgraced.

THE Sovereign of the universe, who fixes the periods of empires, and restrains the wild ambition of princes, had now prepared an instrument of his vengeance to chastise the AFGHANS, whose cruelties had filled PERSIA with blood. Their triumphs drew near an end: the hour approached, in which the PERSIANS were to take ample satisfaction for all the ravages committed by those usurpers, from the death

1727. of GURGHIN KHAN ^a, to their invasion of PERSIA ^b, and for all the dreadful calamities they had occasioned during that period ^c.

About this time appeared, with a more distinguished eclat, NADIR KOULI, the history of whose life and actions will ever seem wonderful, because they are really so, and not the fictions of romance, or the flattery of panegyrists: characters like his, will excite the curiosity, and command the attention of posterity, so long as the lives of great men, and accounts of great actions, continue the object of historical enquiry. We shall here find a man, whose birth and beginning were so obscure, as with difficulty to be traced out; conducting to an issue, with amazing resolution and steadiness, opportunities he had worked out for himself; planning with deliberation and foresight, the fabrick of his future fortune; and carrying his designs into execution, with an unwearied application, till, like other mighty conquerors before him, he became terrible to ASIA, and the undoubted arbiter of the east. He changed his name, as he changed the situations of his fortune, which has occasioned some perplexity: his real name was NADIR KOUL, or NADIR KOULI ^d. NADIR, both in the TURKISH and PERSIAN languages, signifies wonderful, which epithet is used by the MAHOMMEDANS to design the particular attribute of the deity, as we ordinarily say the Almighty; tho' the use and custom of PERSIA gives it to people of the lowest rank of life. When SHAH TÆHMAS made him a khan ^e, as we shall have occasion to relate, he honoured him with the addition of his own name; and this last is one of the highest dignities that can be bestowed by the monarchs of PERSIA. He was then TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN ^f; and tho' KOUL signifies a slave, in this sense it is the highest badge of honour in the east. Afterwards, when he became the sovereign of PERSIA, he reassumed his name NADIR, with the addition of SHAH ^g; tho' as he must be ever considered as an usurper, the name by which he has been most known, and probably

will continue to be known, to posterity in EUROPE, is TÄHMÄS^h KOULI KHAN.

Though authors seem at length agreed about his original name, their accounts differ in some particulars with regard to his birth, his family, and first appearance in life. As to himself, he sometimes boasted of the meanness of his extraction, at others, policy or caprice induced him to claim a relation to GINGHIZ KHAN, the great TURKUMAN conqueror, and also to TAMERLANE. I have not yet seen any account so satisfactory and consistent, as what I received in PERSIA, and I am the more inclined to acquiesce in it, because, tho' there are very few reports of things, in which the PERSIANS agree¹, yet in the circumstances I am now about to relate, people of the most understanding, and of the best intelligence, unanimously concurred.

According to these accounts, NADIR¹ was born in the year 1687, at a village, or more probably in a tent, a few days journey² to the south-east of MESCHED, 'not far from KÆLAT¹.' He was descended from the AF-SHARS, who are a tribe of TARTARS, and subjects of PERSIA. they live for the most part by husbandry, and supply the PERSIANS with horses and cattle. The name of NADIR's father was IMAM KOULI, whose situation of life was such, that he earned his bread by making caps and sheep-skin coats, which is the apparel of the lowest of the common people in PERSIA. NADIR himself was bred up to no other employment than that of a shepherd, and being only thirteen years of age when IMAM KOULI died, he was left in so poor a condition, that he was obliged to gather sticks in the woods, for the support of himself and his mother, and carry them to market on an ass and a camel^m, which were his only patrimony.

It is recorded of him, that when he was returning in triumph from his conquest of INDIA, he happened to pass near the place of his nativity, where he made a set speech to his chief captains, in which he related in what manner he had passed the early part of his life; and, in particular, mentioned the feeding his father's camel, concluding to this effect: "You now see, to what a height it has pleased the Almighty to exalt me; from hence learn not to despise men of low estate."

1704. About the year 1704, when he was 17 or 18 years of age, the OUSBEG TARTARS made an irruption into KHORASAN, where they put many of the inhabitants to the sword, and carried others into slavery; among the last were NADIR KOULI and his mother: she died in captivity, but he made his escape in 1708, and returned to KHORASAN. From this time we hear no more of him, till with some of his companions he robbed a flock of sheep; the money which this produced, enabled him to retire into the mountains: however, we do not find that he continued the profession of a robber for any length of time, but entered into the service of a BEG, by whom he was employed as a courier. He was once charged with dispatches of importance to the PERSIAN court at ISFAHAN, and sent in company with another courier, as is frequently practised in PERSIA. Whether NADIR was ambitious of being the sole carrier of these dispatches; or, whether his fellow-courier did not travel fast enough; or for some other secret reason, he killed him. After his arrival at ISFAHAN, he told his story so well, that he procured admittance to the

ministers

companion and fellow-labourer in ranging the woods, was created a Khan, and granted the privilege of wearing the black heron's feathers on the left side: this is one of the high marks of favour in PERSIA, for their kings wear these plumes upon the right, as a badge of the sovereignty. This man died at KESLAR, on an embassy to RUSSIA. NADIR, upon conferring these honours upon him, spoke these words, "Do not grow proud, but remember the ass, and the picking of sticks." And so late as 1745, KZLEK BEG, a yurbashi or captain, declared, that NADIR KOULI, having formerly borrowed of him 50 batmans of wheat, which is about the value of thirty shillings of our money, he had often importuned both NADIR KOULI and his brother, who was afterwards ISRAHIM KHAN, for payment of it; and that at length they did repay him thirty batmans of the fifty. What is still more remarkable, and more convincing of the truth, after he ascended the throne of PERSIA, he took no ice of this incident in a public manner, and reproached KZLEK BEG for his unmerciful importunity, but did not pay the balance of this debt of poverty, nor take any further notice of the man.

* Not of his father's, as some writers mention, for he was already dead; nor do we find (tho' his whole might be in better circumstances) that his father was ever master of a flock of sheep.

ministers of SHAH SULTAN HUSSEIN, to whom he assigned such plausible reasons for his conduct on the road, that he was not only acquitted, but received presents, and was sent back with answers to the letters he had brought. His master, however, received him with such a countenance, as gave reason to suspect that he meditated his destruction. NADIR perceiving this, resolved to kill his master; to which he was the more induced, from a violent passion he had conceived for his daughter, whom he had demanded in marriage, but was refused. After the murder was perpetrated, he took the lady away, and retired into the mountains. One effect of this enterprize was the birth of RIZA KOULI MYRZA, whose genius and disposition had so great a resemblance with his father's. This desperate action having acquired him a reputation for courage, some of the domestics of his late master, the BEG, joined him, and they became robbers: in this station they continued for some time, as favourable opportunities occurred. NADIR at length offered his service to BABULU KHAN, governor of KHORASAN*, by whom he was accepted in the capacity of a gentleman usher†.

It may seem strange, that a chief of a gang of free-booters, should be received into the family of a governor of a province, and have an honourable office bestowed on him. But this will not appear such a matter of surprize, if we consider the great extent of country, and that NADIR's robberies were for the most part in MAZANDERAN, which is three or four hundred miles distant from MESCHED, add to this, that a man of personal strength and bravery generally meets with a favourable reception in PERSIA, without being much questioned concerning his manner of life. Besides, the revolt of MIR VAIS had alarmed the eastern provinces, as it gave occasion for the TARTARS to make frequent inroads; so that men of a promising figure,

or

* He had also the title of BEGLER BEG, or lord of lords. These I have had occasion to explain; there are not above three or four in the empire, of whom one is always fixed in KHORASAN: this province has been generally considered as a kingdom, and the government given to the king's son, or nearest relation. Some ages are past since a wall was built along this frontier, to prevent theursion of the TARTARS, of which there are still some remains; but SHAH ABAS the GREAT removed several thousand families from other provinces, and brought them hither, alleging that a wall of flesh was the most effectual barrier against an enemy; and NADIR after this example fixed several families of JEWS and CHRISTIANS, as well as MAHOMMEDANS, in MESCHED, to some of whom he lent money to trade, to others lands were assigned to cultivate.

† EISE ACAGI.

1714. or remarkable for their gallant behaviour, were sure of being 'acceptable; and thus we may reconcile the conduct of the governor of KHORASAN.

The PERSIANS are all supposed to be soldiers upon occasion; and it may be presumed, that NADIR's reputation for courage and great personal strength, were recommendations more prevalent than virtue, or any polite accomplishment. But without being bred at court, from the strength of his own genius and discernment, he was a master of the arts of address, and having a mind unrestrained by any moral consideration, he insinuated himself into the affections of those, whom he afterwards made no scruple to destroy. He behaved so well in this new service, that he won the heart of his master; and, under the specious pretence of desiring to please, he concealed his ambition. The satisfaction he expressed in his present situation, induced his companions to believe, that to be faithful in the cause he espoused, was the virtue he aspired at most; however, he affected a particular zeal for some, whilst he shewed a coldness for others, as they seemed more or less inclined to please him.

1717. The distresses of PERSIA increasing, he had not been long in the service of BABULU KHAN, before a command in the army was given him, in which he behaved with great intrepidity, in several skirmishes with the TARTARS of KHIEVA and BOKHARA, who frequently made inroads on

1719. the frontiers of KHORASAN. EZADALLAH being already master of HERAT, and the KOURDS in the west making incursions into IRAC AGEMI; these TARTARS, who are generally called OUSBEGS, came this year in a body of above 10,000 men, and began to lay waste the most fertile plains of KHORASAN, plundering the inhabitants, and carrying many thousands into captivity. In this emergency BABULU KHAN collected all his forces, which did not exceed 6000 men, and of these part were infantry. His officers shewed a reluctance to try their fortune with so unequal a force, against a people of such known bravery as the TARTARS. NADIR KOULI, however, had different sentiments of the matter, and from his experience of the valour of the KHAN's troops, he offered his service to march at their head against these ravagers; declaring at the same time, that he would en-

gage

* See Vol. III. page 62, 63, &c.
have mentioned to signify free and independent.

* Of independent TARTARY.

* This word is

gage his life upon the event. NADIR's military virtues were evidently superior to those of the officers about the KHAN, though he was not then above 33 years of age. The KHAN was so sensible of this, that he had already given him the command of 1000^{*}; and not having the least doubt of his fidelity, he accepted the offer, and conferred upon him the command of his troops, during the intended expedition, whilst himself remained in the city, to keep good order, and prevent the inhabitants from following the example of those of HERAT, who had revolted three years before. Several of the officers refused to act under this new general, but their place was soon supplied by others, whom NADIR approved of.

The OUSBEGS were already advanced to the banks of the river TEDJEN, within a few days march of MESCHED. NADIR having with great application provided what was necessary for the expedition, marched at the head of his troops in search of the enemy, who were pillaging at large; however, the news of the approach of a PERSIAN army brought them together, and they prepared for battle; their numbers being almost double to those under NADIR's command. We have no particular account of this action, but in general terms, that the TARTARS, according to their ordinary custom, charged with great fury. NADIR having selected a proper ground, and encouraged his men, stood the shock; and when the TARTARS by their own impetuosity were in some disorder, the PERSIAN troops made a general discharge of their fire-arms, then falling on with their sabres and battle-axes, put them to flight, destroying near 3000, and retaking all their plunder and captives, which were very considerable.

NADIR, elated with this his first victory, returned in triumph to MESCHED, where he was received with great expressions of joy. The fire of his ambition now began to blaze, nor could he suppress the consciousness of his services, but demanded to be confirmed in his office of general, under the command of BABULU KHAN: this governor assured him that he would write to court in his favour, and that nothing should be wanting

on

* Commanders of 1000 are called MIM BASHIS. As few readers can retain a remembrance of the explanation of PERSIAN words, I shall avoid them as much as possible, but when they necessarily occur, I shall occasionally mention their signification, tho' the same words should have been already explained in other parts of this work.

on his part; to reward his merit. Whether it was that BABULU KHAN did not act ingenuously and agreeable to his promise; or that the weak administration of SHAH SULTAN HUSSEIN evaded the promotion of NADIR, is uncertain; he was however much incensed at his disappointment. What added to his resentment, was to see a person much younger than himself, and a relation of BABULU KHAN, without either experience or abilities, placed in his command. Under these circumstances, NADIR demanded of the KHAN the reasons of so unjust a conduct; and with a ferocity peculiar to him, made no scruple to declare his opinion, that the KHAN had not acted as a man of honour. This insolent behaviour obliged the governor to alter his conduct; so that from the highest commendations of NADIR's valour, he condemned him to be beaten, in the severest manner, on the soles of his feet*. What contributed to this disgrace, was the envy of NADIR's abilities as a soldier, among several officers of distinction in the PERSIAN troops. It is easy to imagine that a man of so imperious a spirit, could but ill brook such indignities; he therefore retired from MESCHED to seek some new adventure.

CHAP. II.

NADIR retires to KÆLAT, and is well received by his uncle. From thence he retreats to the mountains, where he forms a strong party, and robs for several years. The AFGHANS take ISFAHAN. SEF O DIN BEG deserts SHAH TÆHMAS. NADIR's uncle obtains a pardon for his nephew of the SHAH. NADIR's treacherous conduct in seizing KÆLAT; he beats a strong party of the AFGHANS, takes NICHABUR, and reinforces his army with 1000 men.

1719. **N**ADIR being thus turned loose into the world, applied his thoughts immediately how to retrieve his fortunes, and do himself that justice, which he could not obtain of BABULU KHAN. His uncle, a chief

* This is common to persons of the highest rank in PERSIA. See Vol I page 256. * It may perhaps seem strange, that NADIR's father should have been a cap dealer, as his uncle chief of

chief of one of the tribes of the AFSHARS, commanded at KÆLAT, a strong hold, about ten days journey from MESCHED; to him he applied, and complained of the hard treatment he had met with in the king's service. His uncle entertained him for some time, till by his intrigues he began to discover ambitious designs; and NADIR thus becoming an object of jealousy, was obliged to retire. 1719.

NADIR was now determined to seek a support by the arts of violence, in which he was a thorough proficient; experience having taught him, that he could not procure a subsistence in a manner suitable to his vast desires, by any other means. It is probable, he had already planned a design of getting possession of KÆLAT; however, he retired, for the third time, into the mountains, where he returned to his old trade of robbery.

MAGHMUD having invaded PERSIA, and compelled the unfortunate HUSSEIN to yield up his capital, together with his diadem, the provinces were involved in great confusion and distress: this afforded the better opportunity to NADIR, to collect a body of men of desperate fortunes, many of whom had already served under him as soldiers. After robbing several caravans, he soon acquired riches enough to bring together the number of seven or eight hundred men of approved resolution; and having fixed a rendezvous in the mountains, they made incursions into KHORASAN, and the adjacent provinces, laying the country under such contributions as they pleased to impose. 1722.

The AFGHANS, though in possession of ISFAHAN, were not sufficiently numerous to make a rapid conquest of the whole empire; several provinces and cities in the heart of it, as well as the frontiers, refused to submit; and thereby cut them out work for some time. As to TEHMAS, the fourth son of HUSSEIN, who made his escape from ISFAHAN, and was now

a tribe, and governor of KÆLAT, but not so strange as NADIR's own fortune. When, and by what means, the uncle became chief of a tribe, I know not, but it is not so difficult to comprehend, how one brother may be in easy circumstances, and the other poor, whilst we see so many revolutions in human affairs in EUROPE, and many more in ASIA. His first son was SEFFIE MYRZA, whom the ministers of SUAH HUSSEIN had once caused to be confined, from an apprehension that he had too much courage and sagacity to suffer that infamous admiration, for which they were so distinguished, and it is presumed that this prince was afterwards put to death by the AFGHANS.

1722. now considered as the lawful heir of the PERSIAN monarchy, he was rather a fugitive himself, than in a capacity of supporting order and government in those provinces not yet subjected to the AFGHANS; and was
1724. now content with an obscure life, in the province of MAZANDERAN. In the interim, the TURKS seized upon the provinces in the west and south west; and the RUSSIANS conquered the western coast of the CASPIAN, including great part of GHILAN. However, as soon as TÄHMAS was informed that the king his father had abdicated his right to the sovereignty; he, in quality of successor, took the title of SHAH, by which name we shall call him, tho' he can hardly be said to have been more than a nominal king.
1726. Whilst he was negotiating secret treaties with the provinces that professed any fidelity to him, or sending embassies to implore the assistance of the neighbouring states, NADIR extended his lawless sovereignty in the eastern frontiers, living on spoil, and exacting what he thought necessary for the support of himself and his followers.
1727. About five years passed under these circumstances; when, at length, TÄHMAS collected a little army; but his father's fortune still pursued him. One of his principal generals, SEF O DIN BEG, a chief of the BAYOTS², having given some offence, and being apprehensive of punishment, fled from TÄHMAS's camp with the troops under his command, which were no less than 1500 men, and joined NADIR KOULI, who was then in the same province of KHORASAN. The union of their forces composed a body of 2 or 3000 men, which the adjacent country was compelled to support: this formidable body was within 30 leagues of KĒLAT, so that NADIR's uncle began to be much alarmed, lest his nephew should attempt to dislodge him from his strong hold: in order, therefore, to support a good understanding, he wrote to him in very obliging terms, intimating that he had now a fair opportunity of making his fortune, by engaging in the service of his lawful sovereign SHAH TÄHMAS; who, he was sure would pardon him, and all his followers. NADIR seemed to relish the proposal, and desired his uncle to procure the king's pardon, which he would

² These are the inhabitants of DEST BAYAD, a district in KOUHESTAN.

would 'gladly accept: accordingly the uncle represented the case to the SHAH, who, tho' he knew NADIR to be a most notorious offender, yet as he was in great need of so brave and experienced an officer, with so considerable a body of men, immediately signed his pardon, and sent it to KÆLAT.

The uncle no sooner received this writing, than he dispatched it to his nephew; upon the receipt of which, NADIR KOULI set out for KÆLAT, in company with SEF O DIN BEG, under an escort of 100 men of his best troops. He had now a convenient opportunity of exercising his genius in the art of treachery. His uncle received him with great kindness, and entertained him and his followers as persons to whom he had done a signal service, and from whom consequently he apprehended no harm; at the same time he shewed them all the honour and regard due to persons of rank and condition. NADIR, on the other hand, had not forgot the indignities offered him five years before; neither was he ignorant of the motives of his uncle in procuring the pardon, nor of the king's views in granting it: but whatever moral considerations ought to have influenced his conduct, his thirst of power silenced the dictates of conscience: so that he determined to embrace the opportunity of an hospitable reception, and the specious pretence of an obliged guest, to make a sacrifice of his benefactor. For this purpose he had left orders that 500 more of his best men should follow him the next day, and conceal themselves near the fortress of KÆLAT, and there be ready at a signal appointed.

Having thus concerted his measures, the second night after his arrival he ordered his 100 men within the castle to kill the centries, and shut up the rest of the garrison, to the number of 200 men, in their barracks, whilst he went himself into his uncle's chamber and murdered him. As soon as he made the signal, his 500 men were let in at the gates, and he became absolute master of the fortress without shedding much blood. Those of the garrison, who did not chuse to share his fortune, he set at liberty. The next day he dispatched messengers with the news of his success, ordering the remainder of his men to join him, and now instead of changing his residence continually, as the apprehensi

1727. of an enemy, or other reasons of convenience might render necessary, he established his head-quarters in this fortress. KÆLAT includes a considerable spot of ground, the natural situation of which, with the assistance of some art, has rendered it almost inaccessible. He continued there for several months, levying contributions. The success of this enterprize was the more grateful to him, as this place was not far distant from that of his birth: his poor relations and friends in the neighbourhood were relieved by his bounty, and the humanity with which he treated most of the inhabitants of the adjacent country, induced numbers to enlist themselves in his troops; so that from this time he in some measure appeared as an independent sovereign, especially as SHAH TÆHMAS's authority was not acknowledged at MESCHED, MELUCK MAGHMUD, an ABDOLLEE chief, having got possession of that city.

NADIR being thus become formidable, carried his views beyond the plunder of defenceless peasants: he aspired at the delivery of his country from her foreign enemies, particularly the AFGHANS, who had lorded it over the PERSIANS with the utmost barbarity for five years: but altho' he appeared as a sovereign, he did not pretend to wage war against the AFGHANS in any other name than that of SHAH TÆHMAS. As he was conscious that the SHAH must have greatly repented his killing his uncle, under pretence of accepting the royal pardon, he resolved to do some signal action in behalf of the king, that might obliterate the remembrance of his conduct at KÆLAT.

With this view he prepared for an expedition against the AFGHANS, who were masters of the neighbouring city NICHABUR^y, where they had a garrison of above 3000 men. NADIR's forces exceeded this number, but being unaccustomed to sieges, and desirous of action in the field, he determined to make use of a stratagem to draw the enemy out of their garrison: the AFGHANS, who considered NADIR rather as a free-booter, than the general of a formidable body of forces, apprehended no great danger from his neighbourhood. Their troops, to the number of 600, were securely marauding, when NADIR detached about that number of

^y NICHABUR, sometimes called IRAN, was formerly the capital of KHORASAN, till ADAS the GREAT established the tomb of IMAM KOULI RIZA at MESCHED.

of his cavalry, who attacked them unexpectedly, and cut them to pieces: upon this, the governor with his whole garrison issued forth to fall upon the PERSIANS, who immediately retreated towards BANRAHAD, a defile in the mountains, which separates the provinces of KHORASAN and ASTRA-BAD; this was the rendezvous appointed. The AFGHANS pursued them for several leagues*, till they came to this defile: NADIR, in the interim, marched with 1500 of his men, and under the favour of a wood, which covers these mountains, he concealed his men at the entrance of the pass. The AFGHANS, not suspecting any other enemy to be near, followed the 600 men with an impatience of resenting the loss they had just sustained at NICHABUR. As soon as they had well entered the defile, which is very narrow, the 600 PERSIANS faced about, whilst NADIR with his body of 1500 men, fell upon them in rear, with such impetuosity, that the astonished AFGHANS incapable of acting with their cavalry, and suspecting themselves surrounded by a great army, became an easy prey, and few of them escaped the slaughter.

After dividing the spoil taken upon this occasion, NADIR returned to NICHABUR, the gates of which were opened to him: he took possession of it in the name of SHAH TÄHMAS, charging his troops not to injure any of the inhabitants, declaring that his intentions were to deliver them from the tyranny and usurpation of the AFGHANS, and to support them in their fidelity to their true sovereign; as he knew that necessity only had induced them to submit to their late masters. The effects belonging to the AFGHANS he divided among his soldiers; and the humanity with which he treated the inhabitants, was so remarkable, that without forcing a single person to join him, he obtained a reinforcement of near 1000 men.

* The entrance of this defile is about eight or ten leagues distance from NICHABUR.

C H A P. III.

NADIR KOULI *bears of the distress of SHAH TÆHMAS at FARABAD; desires his pardon, and obtains it. He joins his forces with those under the command of FATEY ALI KHAN, whom he afterwards kills, and acquires the sole command of the army. He conducts SHAH TÆHMAS to NICHABUR, and from thence to MESCHED. SHAH TÆHMAS's devotion in that city.*

1727. **W**HILST NADIR was preparing at NICHABUR for new expeditions, he received intelligence that SHAH TÆHMAS was reduced to great extremities. This prince had been pent up in MAZANDERAN, as a kind of dependant on FATEY ALI KHAN KHAJAR^a, who had during the troubles taken possession of that province, which being fortified by the mountains that surround it, the inhabitants refused to submit to the dominion of the AFGHANS. TÆHMAS in the mean while treated with the TURKS and the RUSSIANS, but he was so far from receiving succours from either, that they had divided great part of his dominions, as already mentioned: he was therefore obliged to take up his quarters at FARABAD^b; from whence, in case of danger to his person, he could embark on the CASPIAN SEA. These circumstances were favourable to NADIR, who made no doubt of procuring a full pardon for all his offences: this he had the more reason to expect, as his last action against the AFGHANS had increased his military reputation, and made him considered, in some measure, as the instrument of providence for the delivery of his country. Having therefore caused his forces to advance to the confines of MAZANDERAN, he sent to acquaint the SHAH of the affair at NICHABUR, and that himself and his troops were entirely at his majesty's service; adding, that he desired to have the honour of waiting upon the king, to whom he would give an account of the reasons of his conduct at the fortress of KÆLAT, which he held at the king's orders. Tho' TÆHMAS had received impressions much to the disadvantage of NADIR, proposals of this nature seemed to promise

^a This KHAN was a native of ASTRABAD, whose inhabitants, as I have explained in Vol. I. page 302, are distinguished by the name of KHAJARS. ^b This is the place mentioned in Vol. I. page 299.

promise some happy event, and were highly satisfactory; he therefore made answer, that NADIR might come with all security, and should be received as his faithful servant. Accordingly NADIR, leaving his troops at some distance, set out with an escort of 100 cavalry for FARABAD. 1727.

FATEY ALI KHAN KHAJAR^c having, as already mentioned, taken possession of the province of MAZANDERAN, as also of ASTRABAD, headed a strong party of KHAJARS, who are a very warlike people. TÆHMAS sent a body of forces against him, whom the KHAJARS repulsed: but upon the king's taking a solemn oath to pardon them all, and that he would never, upon any consideration, touch the life of FATEY ALI KHAN KHAJAR, but always treat him as a faithful servant; the KHAN on his part swore allegiance, and the KHAJARS, who were naturally attached to the SERFIE family, became the only safe-guard of the king: they even engaged, that as soon as a favourable opportunity should offer, they would recover MISCHEG out of the hands of the rebel MELUCK MAGHMUD. For this purpose FATEY ALI KHAN had recommended NADIR to the king, as a very gallant officer, and one whose assistance was much to be desired; he therefore received NADIR with open arms, and offered his service to introduce him to his majesty. NADIR's escort made but a contemptible figure with regard to their apparel and accoutrements, their merit consisting only in their strength and valour. He saw that the KHAN was treated with the respect of a sovereign prince, whilst TÆHMAS had only the name of such; and tho' he naturally considered his own merit as much superior to that of the KHAN, yet, not to appear his rival, he affected great humility, and would not even sit in the KHAN's presence without great importunity.

NADIR being introduced to SHAH TÆHMAS, acknowledged the great obligations he was under to his majesty for the free pardon which had been granted him; that however strange his conduct might appear, the death of his uncle was so far from being a contempt of the royal clemency, that it ought to be considered as an expression of his gratitude to the king; for that the castle of KÆLAT was now at his majesty's command, which he

^c This is the father of MAHOMMED HASSAN, by whom I was robbed in 1744, of whose conduct there is an ample account in Vol. I. Page 301.

1727. he had very good reason to believe it would not have been, had his uncle remained in possession of it. He then related the affair of NICHABUR, in which he made it evident, that he had given such a shock to the power of the AFGHANS in those parts, that it would very much facilitate the conquest of HERAT; and that he did not doubt but in a short time FATEY ALI KHAN KHAJAR and himself should restore the kingdom to their majesties, the true descendants of the SEFFIES, whom those savage invaders the AFGHANS had so highly injured.

This discourse was uttered in so respectful manner, mixed with so noble a boldness, that the SHAH could not but express his satisfaction, and told him, he hoped the hour would come, when he should be able to reward his services in a manner suitable to his great merit. NADIR then obtained a pardon for SEF O DIN BEG and all his followers, telling his majesty, that tho' he could not commend the appearance of his troops, he would answer for their experience, valour, and fidelity to their true sovereign.

Matters being thus adjusted to the mutual satisfaction of the SHAH and his new general NADIR, his troops, which now consisted of 4 or 5000 men, were ordered to enter the province of MAZANDERAN, and to join those of FATEY ALI KHAN KHAJAR, so that the whole constituted an army of above 8000 men. NADIR made it his study to cultivate a good correspondence with the KHAN, and by his humble deportment insinuated himself so much, that there seemed to be no jealousy entertained of him; whilst the superior genius which he demonstrated, gave him an apparent ascendancy in the esteem of the SHAH.

In the interim NADIR, whose ambition could not bear an equal, much less a superior, had secretly instigated his creatures to complain of the conduct of the KHAN, with respect to the good order and payment of the troops, and the extravagant price of their cloathing. He also watched the KHAN very closely, and finding the king had already received impressions to the disadvantage of this general, he took a favourable opportunity of acquainting his majesty, that he had discovered a treacherous correspondency between the KHAN, and MELUCK MAGHMUD the rebel-
governor

governor of MESCHED ; and that, under pretence of conducting the SHAH to the conquest of that city, as had been concerted, his intentions were to deliver him to MELUCK MAGHMUD, on condition, that whilst the latter was to continue master of that city, together with the whole province, which their joint forces were to subdue, the KHAN should remain in possession of the southern coast of the CASPIAN sea ; and as a proof of what he advanced, he produced letters of the KHAN, which he pretended to have intercepted. 1727.

It seemed improbable that the KHAN should really have held such a correspondence, after having had TÆHMAS in his hands for some time ; nor is it believed, that any change of circumstances induced him to take such desperate measures : however, it was not the fortune of TÆHMAS to be much wiser than his father HUSSEIN ; and he gave the easier credit to the report, as he recollected that the KHAN had been in arms against him not long before ; and that NADIR, who had given such repeated proofs of his fidelity, could have no interest in deceiving him, to the ruin of that very man, who had so lately made a point of recommending him to his favour. NADIR affected a great concern, representing to the SHAH, that his duty to his sovereign was prior to all other considerations ; and moreover, that it was impossible his majesty could, with any consistency, entertain hopes of recovering his dominions, whilst he cherished a serpent in his bosom, and trusted himself in the hands of men devoid of fidelity.

TÆHMAS, at length, believing the fact, was much perplexed with regard to the oath he had taken, never to hurt, much less to touch the life of, FATEY ALI KHAN. To which NADIR replied ; “ If your majesty has taken an oath, I have not ; ” and thus, by a tacit consent, the ruin of the KHAN was resolved. This general, not suspecting such an intrigue against his life, came to court as usual ; when NADIR ordered a colonel^d, who was one of his creatures, to take an opportunity of killing him : but so great was the reputation of the KHAN, and his presence so majestic, that the colonel was so much awed, that he put this business on

^d This was the person whom I have mentioned in Vol. I. page 303.

1727. on his servant. NADIR having thus executed this pretended service to his master, carried out the head on a spear, and presented it to the soldiers, declaring the reason of the KHAN's death, and that those who meant to be faithful to their sovereign, could not disapprove of the death of a traitor: that for his own part, he was resolved to sacrifice all the considerations of friendship and private interest, to the good of his country, and the restoration of his majesty to his dominions. These declarations, in some measure, satisfied those who were most attached to the deceased; some who affected to murmur, as if there had been foul play, and that the KHAN had been cut off through the intrigues of NADIR and his creatures, were seized and confined.

1728. NADIR having thus removed the bar to his ambition, as a reward for this signal service was constituted a KHAN*, and had the command of the whole army given him: he now began to display all the talents of an able minister and a great general, so that TÆHMAS trusted entirely to his conduct. He was a master of the art of improving advantages, and knew that his security, as well as the future advancement of his fortune, depended on that army, of which he was now the chief. As one of his peculiar characteristics was a piercing knowledge of men; he soon resolved which officers to discharge, and whom to put in their place: he gained the affections of the common soldiers by an unwearied attention to every circumstance that could tend to the promotion of their interest, particularly with regard to their being paid punctually, and buying their cloaths at an easy price. His first care was to engage his master to march his army into KHORASAN, where he assured him the inhabitants were ready to take up arms against the common enemy.

The proper measures being taken to secure the pass of BANRAHAD, the army marched towards NICHABUR, the king himself commanding in person. TÆHMAS made his entrance there the 15th of MAY, on which occasion the inhabitants proclaimed their joy in the sincerest manner. Their wishes seemed to presage his restoration, which they were the more inclined to believe, from the pleasure they received in being the first city that was relieved

* This made him NADIR KOULI KHAN, but we do not find him called by that name, because he soon afterwards was honoured with the name of the SHAH, and was called SHAH NAZIR KOULI KHAN.

lieved from the yoke of the AFGHANS, at a time when they least expected so happy an event. It was an accession to their joy, that this revolution was brought about by a person whom they had considered only as a robber, and whose power as such they dreaded equally with that of the AFGHANS, but who was now verifying the assurances he had given them a few months before, that he meant to restore the PERSIAN diadem to the true heir of SHAH SULTAN HUSSEIN. The AFGHANS in those parts, disheartened by the great loss they had suffered in the affair of BANRAHAD, and unable to recruit, retired from the neighbourhood of NICHABUR, without attempting to succour their ally MELUCK MAGHMUD, governor of MESCHED.

Under these circumstances, NADIR found no difficulty to augment the SHAH's army; the anxious wishes of the people, to see themselves free from the yoke of the AFGHANS, and their desire of establishing their lawful sovereign, soon brought a strong reinforcement, so that this general was now at the head of near 18,000 men, a larger army than had for a long time appeared in those parts.

NADIR was impatient under every unnecessary delay, and prepared immediately to march with all his forces against the ABDOLLEES, who under the command of MELUCK MAGHMUD, had taken possession of MESCHED: they no sooner heard of the defeat of the AFGHANS in the defile of BANRAHAD, and that SHAH TÆHMAS had entered KHORASAN with a numerous army, than they began to prepare for a defence. But MESCHED being a place of little or no strength, and the inhabitants intirely averse to the rebel government, they retired from that city; so that when NADIR arrived there with his troops, the SHAH made a triumphant entrance, without effusion of blood. The citizens, delivered from oppression, received TÆHMAS with the highest demonstrations of joy; and NADIR, who was personally known in that city, where BABULU KHAN had some years before treated him with great indignity, was now loaded with honours. The present situation of TÆHMAS's affairs, rendered him incapable of making his acknowledgments to NADIR in a pecuniary way, yet he was in the highest degree prodigal of his authority, as if he already meant to constitute him his sovereign, rather than his general. And as the

1728. highest mark of dignity which he could confer on him, according to the custom of the PERSIAN kings, was to give him his own name, from hence forward he ordered him to be called TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN^f; by which name we shall distinguish him, till he wrested the diadem from his master.

TÆHMAS thus lavish of his favours, may be supposed to have acted upon principles of gratitude, as men of probity are generally inclined to think this a duty; but where the expression of this virtue is also an honour conferred on him who receives it, nothing can be more reasonable, than to expect a suitable return. However, he seemed to be ignorant, that when princes have nothing left to bestow, they seldom receive any return for those favours they have already conferred; nor is it strange that it should so happen with regard to princes, when we find it so almost every day in common life.

This prince, who partook much of the genius of his father, with regard to the religious turn of his mind, rejoiced at so favourable an opportunity of paying his devotion at the tomb of IMAM^e RIZA; for it had been long observed as a duty of the kings of PERSIA^b, to make a pilgrimage once in their life-time to this tomb, as the TURKS do to MECCA and MEDINA. And the perils which he had gone through since the battle of GULNABAD, with his providential restoration, by means of his general TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN, naturally inspired his mind with a deeper sense of gratitude to heaven.

P A R T II.

FROM THE

RECOVERY OF THE WHOLE PROVINCE OF
KHORASAN IN 1728,

TO THE

EXPULSION OF SULTAN ASHREFF OUT OF
ISFAHAN IN 1729.

CHAP. IV.

TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN *reduces KHORASAN and HERAT. He returns in triumph to MESCHED, with the head of the governor of HERAT. SHAH TÆHMAS sends an ambassador to the OTTOMAN court. The TURKS send SULIMAN EFFENDI into PERSIA. ASHREFF destroys SAID ACHMED KHAN governor of KHERMAN, and prepares to attack TÆHMAS SHAH. ASHREFF marches to DAMGOON, and is defeated; he retreats to ISFAHAN, and encamps his troops at MOURTCHAKHOR.*

WHILST TÆHMAS SHAH was offering up his prayers to the deity, TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN presented incense to his idols of ambition and military glory, the only deities he seemed to reverence. Reasons of policy might justly induce TÆHMAS SHAH to remain in MESCHED, till his army should be in a condition to march towards ISFAHAN: and it was natural for his general TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN, to recommend this step, as it left him at liberty to act with the more boundless authority in the army. The country of KHORASAN was well known to him in every part, in consequence of the many excursions he had made, as an officer in the army, as well as the chief of a band of robbers. The
beginning

1728. beginning of this year he marched at the head of a considerable body of forces, to reduce the other cities and towns of the province, which had revolted, and established an independent government, or submitted to the AFGHANS.

The news of SHAH TÄHMAS having entered MESCHED in triumph, where he now took up his residence, facilitated the enterprizes of TÄHMAS KOULI KHAN; so that the greatest part of the towns and villages sent deputations, and professed themselves entirely devoted to the interest of their lawful sovereign. Before this year was ended, we find all the vast country of KHORASAN subjected, and the AFGHANS obliged to retire, without daring to give battle. NADIR returned to MESCHED, not so much out of inclination, as to make an appearance of respect for his master, and to consult about the future operations of the war.

It was about ten years since the inhabitants of HERAT, which is near the frontiers of KHORASAN, had in consequence of the victory obtained by the young EZADALLAH, shaken off the PERSIAN yoke, and erected themselves into a kind of republic¹, together with the whole province of that name. It does not appear, that this young usurper yet remained in that government, which he had been the great instrument of forming, tho' he had for some time maintained the chief office in it. It is certain, however, that this republic became formidable to the neighbouring country, and was at this very time meditating the invasion of KHORASAN: but the success which TÄHMAS KOULI KHAN had against the AFGHANS at NICHABUR, and afterwards through the whole province of KHORASAN, put a bar to the execution of their project.

TÄHMAS KOULI KHAN having represented to the SHAH, the facility with which he could reduce HERAT, obtained a permission to march to that province, with about 12000 men: he no sooner encamped under the walls of the city, than the inhabitants naturally inconstant, and diffident of their ability to oppose the fortune and valour of TÄHMAS KOULI KHAN, submitted to him, and delivered up their chief, together with the garrison.

¹ It is presumed, as they were in alliance with the AFGHANS, whose seat of empire was ISFAHAN, and that the ABDOLLES of HERAT were in some measure tributary to them.

garrison^k. The PERSIAN general having caused the former to be beheaded, left a garrison in HERAT; he treated the inhabitants with so judicious a mixture of mildness and severity, according to their different circumstances, that he seemed to have secured their allegiance; he then prepared to march back to MESCHED, agreeably to the orders he had received from the SHAH. Being returned victorious, with the head of the late governor of HERAT, he began to form a more important enterprize, than that of marching southward through the deserts of SEGESTAN, as the AFGHANS had done five years before.

In order to detach the TURKS from the interest of ASHREFF, whom they had with great reluctance acknowledged as sovereign of PERSIA; TÆHMAS had in the mean time sent an ambassador to the OTTOMAN court. This minister was received with more regard than he expected; for the news of TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN's exploits having reached CONSTANTINOPLE, gave the TURKS a good impression of the state of the affairs of SHAH TÆHMAS. Tho' their interest was concerned to see PERSIA humbled; yet they did not much incline to support an usurper, whose imperious spirit had carried him so far as to pretend to an equality with the grand seignior. But in order to be informed more minutely of circumstances so interesting to them, they sent SULIMAN EFFENDI, an officer of trust, into PERSIA; of whom they soon learnt, that TÆHMAS already master of KHORASAN and HERAT, with a considerable army of choice troops, and a general of great reputation at their head, seemed to promise an approaching change in the PERSIAN empire.

In the mean time ASHREFF, after giving a check to a TURKISH army, 1729; tho' it was the effect of accident rather than military strength, dreaded no evil from the fugitive TÆHMAS: he often mentioned him in terms so contemptuous, that to appearance he had persuaded himself of the impossibility of being molested by him.

After a tedious siege, he had at length made himself master of YEZD, which at different times had cost the AFGHANS much blood; KHERMA-
NIA

* This action has been represented as a battle, in which the ARABOIS had 30,000 men; but I could never find any authority for that report, as a fourth part of that number in such a province would be considered a great army, under such disordered circumstances as the empire was then in.

1729. NIA had also submitted to him. SAID ACHMED KHAN, who was a near relation of the royal blood of the SHEFFIES, during the troubles had established an independant sovereignty in KHERMANIA, of which ASHREFF had not leisure to dispossess him by force of arms; but SAID being in want of money to pay an army, and the impoverished state of the province making it impossible to raise sufficient contributions for that purpose, his forces at length deserted him. He then submitted to ASHREFF, who was not only the nearest potentate, but the only one who seemed to have any regal authority: desiring him, however, to remember that he had only acted upon the same principles as ASHREFF himself, and therefore hoped to be received with the respect due to his quality, and with all security to his person; upon condition of which he professed an entire devotion to the service of this AFGHAN prince.

ASHREFF promised the KHAN his protection, under the sanction of sacred oaths, and let him know that he might repair to SHIRASS, with the people under his command, in all possible security: but no sooner was he arrived there, than the governor sent him prisoner to ISFAHAN, where he was beheaded. The province of KHERMANIA, and the country on the sea coast quite to BENDER ABASSI, thus becoming subject to ASHREFF, his dominions were extended farther than he had forces to guard them; for the cruelties and depredations committed from the AFGHAN invasion till this time, having impoverished the inhabitants to an extreme degree, he was in no capacity to maintain an army sufficiently numerous to support his authority over so vast a tract of country. As to the PERSIAN soldiers, they were as reluctant to enter into the service of the AFGHANS, as the AFGHANS were diffident of their fidelity; and from KANDAHAR recruits could hardly be expected in great numbers; for HUSSEIN KHAN, the governor of that province, since the murder of his brother MIR MAGHMUD in ISFAHAN, considered ASHREFF rather as an enemy than a friend; and presuming that he might shortly be driven out of PERSIA, he would hardly send him recruits, lest by that means he might retire into KANDAHAR, and with the same authority that he put MAGHMUD to death, claim the sovereignty of that province.

'Spiritual and temporal power being interwoven in the closest manner by the MAHOMMEDAN law, the grand signior is supposed to reign over the TURKS in quality of IMAM¹, and successor of the Caliphs. From hence he claims an authority over all MAHOMMEDANS of the sect of the SUNNIS, so that ASHREEF, who was of that sect, could not with any consistency refuse to acknowledge him as such, without affecting an independent power. However, he artfully contrived to make his submission procure him what was more essential; for he obtained from the TURKS the acknowledgement of his being sovereign of PERSIA, and of his holding that dignity and power according to law: and having thus made a puissant protector of a formidable enemy, he lulled himself into a security, as if his dominion was built on the most solid basis. He had given RECHID BASHA, the TURKISH ambassador, the kindest reception, and shewed him many marks of honour, during his residence at ISFAHAN.

Not to be wanting in a suitable return, the TURKS made great preparations for the reception of the ambassador of ASHREEF, who arrived at CONSTANTINOPLE in JULY this year. Greater rejoicings could not have been made for the reception of a sovereign prince returning in triumph. It is however very remarkable, that this AFGHAN affected a contempt of all the grand appearances, the military shews, and the roaring of cannon; for without looking on one side or the other, as he entered CONSTANTINOPLE, he continued to read his khoran. It is natural to presume from this incident, that he endeavoured to raise the reputation of his countrymen for great sanctity, and a divine zeal for the MAHOMMEDAN law, as practised by the TURKS: this sort of conduct had been the chief cause, a short time before, of saving his master ASHREEF, together with the AFGHAN army, from destruction; but the ambassador now over-acted his part, and gave the TURKS impressions to the disadvantage of his nation.

ASHREEF in the mean while enjoyed the sweets of peace. The love of pleasure is natural to mankind, and freedom from toil is generally supposed the best means to arrive at it. This prince was certainly a man of

¹ Chief of religion

1729. of parts, very circumspect, and an intrepid soldier: but like most other ORIENTAL warriors of distinction, he had no sense of any moral obligation. He seemed now to be arrived at the highest point that the nature of his affairs would admit; and therefore it was natural to give some indulgence to his favourite passions. However he kept part of his troops in the field, whilst he followed the exercises of hunting, and gratified his inclination in building. As to the pleasures of women, they are but an ordinary consequence of MAHOMMEDAN voluptuousness, especially when it is supported by an unlimited authority.

This prince, who had hitherto considered NADIR KOULI in no other light than as a robber, began now to look upon him as a formidable enemy. SHAH TÆHMAS had been so much the ridicule of the court of ISFAHAN, that the news of his successes in the eastern parts of the empire did not seem to give the least alarm to the soldiers, nor even to the officers of the army. They gave him the name of SEK ZADE, in allusion to the word CHEIK ^m ZADE, the latter being son of the king, and the former son of a bitch: at the same time they expressed great satisfaction, that they should at length have an opportunity of getting him into their hands. However proper it might be to encourage the common soldiers to think thus contemptibly of their enemy; ASHREF, who had certain intelligence of his force, and the valour of his troops, thought it high time to provide for the storm that threatened him: he therefore caused all the forces, as well those on the frontiers, as in the heart of his dominions, to be joined to the garrison of ISFAHAN. And in order to prevent any insurrection in favour of TÆHMAS at CASHAN, KOOM, CASBIN, TÆHIRAN, YEZD, and other great cities and towns in his jurisdiction, he ordered all the PERSIAN inhabitants, who were capable of bearing arms, to leave their habitations and retire, under pain of death: he did the same at ISFAHAN.

Having made this disposition, his whole force did not exceed 30,000 men, some of which were DARGUZZIS ^a and HASSARAIS ^b; a force, however, not much inferior to that by which his predecessor had obtained the

PERSIAN

^a CHEIK EIDAR was the first founder of the SEFFIÉ dynasty.
of DERGHESIA in the neighbourhood of HAMADAN.

^b I presume, the inhabitants
^c These people are supposed to come from the eastern parts of CABUL.

PERSIAN diadem. About the beginning of SEPTEMBER, he encamped his army without the walls of ISFAHAN; in which city he left 200 of his men in garrison, thinking that small number sufficient to keep this once vast capital in awe: for so miserably was this unhappy city reduced, by the incessant massacres committed by MAGHMUD and himself, that few of its inhabitants were left, except old men, women, and children. In a few days he began his march, with the ordinary pomp of a PERSIAN king. He directed his course by CASHAN and KOOM, to the plains of DAMGOON, in the province of COUMAS; where he arrived towards the close of the month, after having marched about 400 miles*. His intention was to have proceeded towards KHORASAN, and by attacking TÆHMAS in his new-established empire, prevent his accumulating more strength.

TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN had employed the greatest part of this year in augmenting and disciplining his troops. In the former he met with some difficulties, for the people not having yet worn off the impressions, which the valour of the AFGHANS had made on them, and knowing that they were to come to action immediately, joined him but slowly. He had, however, collected an army of near 25000^p men; in the completing, as well as disciplining of which, he had given such proofs of his abilities, as inspired his master with the greatest assurance of success. The measures which ASHREFF had taken, to prevent any revolt in favour of TÆHMAS, had occasioned many to offer their service to this prince; for as they had been turned out of their habitations, resentment as well as necessity, carried them where they were sure of being received.

The SHAH, thus upon the point of being restored to the throne of his ancestors, and urged by an impatient desire to revenge the disgrace of his father, and the blood of so many thousands of his subjects, had proposed to march to ISFAHAN, and compel ASHREFF to give him battle; but this design was laid aside. His sagacious general represented to him, the inconveniencies that would attend the length of the march, and moreover, that the measures which ASHREFF had taken at ISFAHAN, were certain

D 2

indications

* When I write miles without distinction, I mean ENGLISH miles them much under this number, and some much above it.

^p Some writers make

1729. indications that he meant to seek his majesty; and consequently, that the AFGHANS would be more hurt by the fatigue of their march, than benefited by the junction of fresh forces, seeing that ASHREFF had already collected all in whom he thought it safe to confide; he observed likewise, that the further he came from ISFAHAN, the more difficult and the more dangerous would be his retreat. However, not to bring the war into KHORASAN, nor lose any advantages which his majesty's faithful subjects the KHAJARS, BAYOTS, or any of the neighbouring countries might afford, it was determined to make some advance to meet ASHREFF. After slow marches, he accordingly arrived with the king, and the whole army, near the city of DAMGOON, before ASHREFF had entered those plains. This situation was not far from that vast ridge of mountains, which run eastward along the south coast of the CASPIAN SEA, which being well known to KOULI KHAN, in case of an extremity he could make a safe retreat. Having leisure to chuse his ground, he had already encamped his forces, and refreshed his men for some days, when ASHREFF approached with his whole army.

The AFGHANS had been accustomed for some time to slaughter the PERSIANS, rather than to engage with them; and to put them to flight by their shouts, and the fierceness of their attack, rather than by their superior strength and knowledge of arms. As they were now equally confident of victory, they urged their general to begin the attack. ASHREFF however soon discovered from the advantageous situation of the PERSIAN army, that he had to do with a general of experience, and against whom he must proceed with great caution, especially as his fate seemed to depend on the issue of the battle. Whilst he was thus unresolved, his officers represented to him, that upon the first report which should be spread of their being afraid to attack the PERSIANS, the peasants would no longer bring provisions to their camp, and that they should be compelled to fight hereafter at a greater disadvantage.

ASHREFF having therefore made a proper disposition of his forces, on the 2d of OCTOBER attacked the PERSIAN army with that impetuosity, which the AFGHANS had generally found successful. The PERSIAN troops

troops stood the shock, without giving way in the least, returning their fire with perfect order, so that the AFGHANS could make no impression on them. ASHREFF surprized, tho' not disconcerted, at the discipline and silence of the PERSIAN troops, brought off his squadrons from the charge, and had recourse to the expedient which he found of great use in his late action against the TURKS. He detached two bodies, each of 3000 men, commanded by the most experienced officers in his army, and ordered them to take a circuit, and charge the enemy in rear and flank, whilst he attacked them in front. TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN, watchful in every quarter, prepared to receive the enemy; and repulsed them with such valour, as flung them into great confusion. After a general discharge of his artillery, it was his turn to attack; and falling furiously upon the AFGHANS, he obtained an easy victory.

What loss was sustained on each side is uncertain. It may be presumed that of the AFGHANS was very considerable^p: their camels, harquebusses, with all their tents and baggage, fell into the hands of the conqueror. The AFGHANS fled to TÆHIRAN, which they reached in about two days, tho' the distance is near 200 miles; from whence, after pillaging the inhabitants, and refreshing themselves, they made forced marches to ISFAHAN.

The day after the arrival of the AFGHAN army, ASHREFF commanded all the people of his nation, inhabiting that city, to retire with their effects into the citadel^q: these orders were executed in such a tumultuous manner, that it appeared as if the city had been taken by assault: the AFGHANS drove the other inhabitants from their houses, destroying most of their effects which were not portable, and pillaging the shops of every thing that was valuable. After which, ASHREFF retired with his troops to MOURTCHAKHOR^r, where he encamped in an advantageous situation.

^p As they carried off only 12,000 men from ISFAHAN, their loss here must have been near 10,000.

^q An inclosed building, which had been made since the invasion of the AFGHANS.

^r This place is about 25 miles eastward of ISFAHAN, according to report; but DELISLE does not mention it in his map.

C H A P. V.

TÆHMAS KOUÏI-KHAN engages the SHAH to remain at TEHRAN. The battle of MOURTCHAKHOR. ASHREFF murders SHAH HÛSSEIN, and flies from ISFAHAN. The city taken by the PERSIAN army. The PERSIANS revenge themselves on the AFGHANS. SHAH TÆHMAS enters ISFAHAN, and gives his general TÆHMAS KOUÏI KHAN, the power of raising money.

1729. TÆHMAS KOUÏI KHAN, now jealous of his glory, proceeded with the utmost care, to prevent a reverse of his fortune. The SHAH, thinking himself secure of victory over the fugitive AFGHANS, impatiently desired to see ISFAHAN. TÆHMAS KOUÏI KHAN, on the other hand, seemed to act as if he was apprehensive, that his sovereign would come in for too great a share in the reputation of his victories, and that his soldiers would consider themselves as acting rather under their king, than under their general. This neither consisted with his desire of independency in the command of the army; nor with his ambition and thirst of applause. He therefore took occasion to represent to the SHAH, that his majesty's presence was no longer necessary to encourage his troops, since it was evident from their superiority at DAMGOON, that the enemy was rather to be despised than feared; and he did not make the least doubt, that he should soon exterminate them; that so much depended on the precious life of their sovereign, that should any misfortune happen to him, his subjects could have no security of being relieved from the tyrannic yoke of the AFGHANS; that the courage which his majesty demonstrated, at the same time that it engaged the love and admiration of his subjects, made them more anxious for the preservation of a life, of such inestimable value; that this was the sense of the army in general, which humbly intreated him to remain at TEHRAN, with a guard of six or eight thousand men.

These reasons made an impression upon the SHAH; he had an entire confidence in his general, and therefore suffered him to gather those laurels,

which he might indeed have justly claimed as deliverer of his country, had he acted upon honest principles. He accordingly marched without obstruction, proclaiming his victory in the name of SHAH TÆHMAS, and was every where received with acclamations of joy. He soon found his troops considerably augmented by crowds, who now voluntarily offered their service, to give a finishing stroke to the ruin of the AFGHANS.

In the mean time, ASHREFF, expecting to be attacked, had made every preparation necessary to receive the enemy: not only his sovereignty, but his life depended on the event. In the flattering hopes of repairing his loss at DAMGOON, he exerted all his skill in the choice of a proper situation for his camp; in erecting batteries for his cannon; in covering them by intrenchments; and making the most advantageous disposition of his troops.

The 13th of NOVEMBER, early in the morning, TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN appeared with his army in order of battle: the PERSIANS marched up to the AFGHANS, and sustained the whole force of their musquetry, and part of their cannon, without disorder. Being come close to the enemy, they, in their turn, gave a general discharge. So regular and intrepid an attack, might have disconcerted troops enured to the severest discipline. The astonished AFGHANS seeing such numbers fall, that hardly a single bullet failed of execution; thought only of saving their lives by flying precipitately from the field of battle. The loss they sustained on this occasion, was not less than 4000 men. The greatest part of the AFGHANS who fled, reached ISPAHAN by three in the afternoon, and ASHREFF himself, with a small number, returned at night. They pretended to have obtained a victory, but the cries and lamentations of their women and children in the citadel, soon discovered the contrary. There was also great confusion in other parts of the city, insomuch that the miserable inhabitants, remembering the threats of the AFGHANS, in case a misfortune should at any time befall them, expected nothing less than a general massacre. But the panic which had seized the

* The PERSIANS are excellent marksmen, and when they keep good order, they take aim, and must necessarily do great execution.

1729. the AFGHANS, diverted them from any such cruel purpose, if they ever intended it.

ASHREFF, however, found time to glut his revenge, by imbruing his hands in the blood of SHAH HUSSEIN. This unfortunate prince, whom MIR MAGHMUD with all his horrid barbarity had spared, at length fell a sacrifice to the disappointment and rage of this cruel AFGHAN. Others of the royal blood are supposed to have fallen also on this occasion; as to the daughters and female relations of HUSSEIN, he took them from the harram, determining to carry them off with him.

The AFGHANS, having now no other expedient, prepared for flight, and were busied in collecting their spoil. Besides the number of beasts of burthen, to accommodate their women and baggage, they loaded several mules, and near 300 camels, mostly with the treasures and rich effects of the royal palace. As soon as night came on they left the city, in number about 12000, after having reigned as conquerors of PERSIA, seven years and twenty one days. ASHREFF perhaps startled with the groans of the dying HUSSEIN, or having his whole mind employed in collecting his treasure, or providing for his own security, had forgotten that the inactivity of the PERSIAN general, afforded an opportunity of glutting his revenge by some more signal cruelty; but he had not marched two leagues, when he sent back his ATHEMAT DOULET, with a chosen party, it was supposed with orders to fire the city, and massacre all those who might come in their way. This party was advanced to the royal gardens, within a mile of ISFAHAN, when some among the common people, concluding they were not come for any good purpose, collected several drums, which they beat in such a manner, that the AFGHANS, apprehensive that the PERSIAN troops had already entered the town, fled back without doing any mischief, and continued their rout towards SHIRASS.

This precipitate retreat having left the capital unguarded, the peasants of the neighbouring country, as well as the inhabitants, began not only to pillage the houses which were abandoned, but also to rob one another: which unbridled licentiousness created an infinite confusion. Two days past under these melancholy circumstances, in which the weak were obliged

to yield to the strong, without any recourse to either civil or military authority. 1729.

The 16th of NOVEMBER, TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN detached a body of 1500 men, to disperse the mob, and take possession of the royal palace, and gates of the city, in order to his own entrance. It may seem difficult to account for his not following the AFGHANS, after the battle of MOURTCHAKOR, which might have prevented their carrying off the riches of ISFAHAN: but we are to consider TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN, as unbiassed by any particular affection for the PERSIANS; that his glory was not arrived to maturity; and that, besides the duty of a general to act cautiously with so artful an enemy as the AFGHANS, if we may judge from his conduct after he arrived at ISFAHAN, it is reasonable to conclude, his design was to husband the war, that his office as generalissimo might not become unnecessary.

As soon as the KHAN entered the city, he took the proper measures for quieting the tumults of the people, occasioned by the pillage already mentioned; and ordered a diligent search for all the AFGHANS, whom necessity or choice had induced to remain there. Of these, numbers had concealed themselves in the houses of their relations or friends, in hopes to elude the search. Many of them were brought into the public places and executed: these were a kind of victims to the souls of thousands, who had been starved to death by the ambitious policy of MAGHMUD, or for the same reasons butchered in cold blood, during the reign of the AFGHANS. It is remarkable however, that TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN pardoned all those, of whom the inhabitants of the city made a fair report, with regard to the humane manner in which they had executed their respective offices. In the interim, he received a deputation from the AFGHANS of CASBIN: these not only offered their allegiance to SHAH TÆHMAS, but also their service as soldiers, and to engage immediately in his army. Such a reinforcement could not but prove agreeable to the PERSIAN general, so that in the name of his master he promised them a kind reception.

1729.

The spirit of revenge did not stop with the slaughter of the AFGHANS of ISFAHAN: the people were furious at the sight of every object that could raise in their minds the least remembrance of their past sufferings. MAGHMUD, when he was near his natural death, was taken off by violence as related; yet, as he was the founder of the dominion of the AFGHANS in PERSIA, they had at a considerable expence erected a magnificent mausoleum to his memory. This edifice, according to the custom of the east, was built in a grove, and inclosed with a wall. Tho' this prince had been so inhuman a murderer, yet the superstition of the partisans in his victories, induced them to offer their prayers at his tomb. This increased the indignation of the inhabitants of ISFAHAN, and added to their desire of destroying it. Having obtained the permission of the KHAN for this purpose, they levell'd this edifice to the ground, with the fury of an enraged mob; they would not even suffer the repose of his bones; and, to add yet a greater mark of contempt and abhorrence, in the very place on which this mausoleum had been erected, they built a public jakes.

SHAH TÆHMAS, who was still at TÆHIRAN, having received notice of what had passed at ISFAHAN, prepared to take possession of his capital. He marched at the head of the greatest part of the forces which were left with him, and arrived the 9th of DECEMBER following at GAZE, a village about six miles distance from ISFAHAN. Here he was met by his general TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN; whom the SHAH no sooner saw, than he alighted from his horse, as if he meant to pay him homage: the general dismounted also, and ran to him in a respectful manner, to prevent this great mark of condescension; but the SHAH insisted upon walking a few paces with him, declaring that he could not shew too great a distinction to the person who had delivered his country, and driven his enemies from ISFAHAN. After a short conversation he mounted again, preceded by his running footmen; the KHAN following just behind him at the head of his troops.

TÆHMAS now made his entry into ISFAHAN, and was received with all those demonstrations of joy which the sudden change, from the execrable

crable tyranny of the usurper ASHREFF, to the gentle deportment of their legal sovereign could inspire. The remembrance of his misfortunes added all the tenderness of affectionate subjects, to the religious respect for the person of him who now appeared as the only survivor of the SEFFIE family. But the transports of his joy were in a great measure suppressed, when he heard of the fate of the king his father, and saw the palace, which eight years before contained all the splendor of a court, exhibiting only naked walls; the remembrance that he was restored to the throne of his ancestors, was not sufficient to silence the dictates of humanity, in a breast formed to gentle impressions, and tho' a king, he was not ashamed to weep. As soon as he entered the harram, an old woman threw her arms about his neck in great transports of joy; as he knew that ASHREFF had carried away his sisters and other relations, he was the more surprised to find this person to be his mother. This lady had, ever since the invasion of the AFGHANS, disguised herself in the habit of a slave, and submitted to all the offices of drudgery, which are ordinarily imposed on persons in that situation.

The king, after enjoying the satisfaction to find one of his parents alive, prepared himself for the duties of a sovereign prince. He received all those who appeared before him in so affable and obliging a manner, that he won them entirely to his interest; and though their poverty was very great, they contributed as liberally as possible to the support of the army, which was increased to near 40,000 men. TÆHMAS, whose tenderness of nature became his crime, instead of commanding his general to pursue and extirpate his enemies, gave way to a melancholy turn of thought, TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN took occasion from hence, to represent to him in a respectful manner, that his present situation ought to efface all remembrance of past disgraces; the SHAH replied to this effect: "How is it possible that my heart should be open to joy; are my own misfortunes, and those of my people to be forgotten, so long as the murderers of my father and brothers are yet at SHIRASS, where my sisters, and other female relations, are held in slavery by the vile AFGHANS?" This was, in fact, to reproach TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN for his inactivity; for it was in his breast to have pursued them, without

1729. giving them the least time to form any future project; but this general, true to his own principles, foresaw that the remembrance of his services would wear out of the minds of the people, unless to the office of generalissimo, he could add that of a prime minister, or at least possess a power adequate to it. He therefore took this occasion to represent to the SHAH, that he was very ready to march against the enemy, and finish the business of restoring to his majesty all his dominions; but that he knew an army was not to be kept together without pay; and moreover, he had learnt from the experience of LUTF ALI KHAN, towards the close of the unfortunate reign of his father, that the intrigues of a court often baffle the most glorious military operations; therefore, if his majesty meant to compleat the work which was so happily begun, a power must be granted him to levy money for the payment of the army.

The king, who already designed to give his aunt in marriage to this general, and had actually made him BEGLER BEG of KHORASAN, was startled at his demand of this extraordinary power of levying money; being sensible that such a step was in some measure to yield up the sovereignty. He consulted however with some of the principal officers, if there was any proper person to whom he could give the command of the army. Whether these officers were in the interest of the general or not, they declared their opinion, that the soldiers would not willingly serve under any other person than TAFHMAS KOULI KHAN; and consequently, that it would be best to comply with his demand for the present, and resent his insolence hereafter, when there should not be any such pressing occasion for his services. The KHAN, thus obtaining his point in so important an article, professed an entire devotion to his master's service: as a proof of which, he offered to take the field immediately, and go in search of the ARGHANS. Accordingly before the end of DECEMBER this year, the PERSIAN army began their march towards SHIRASS.

P A R T III.

FROM THE

TOTAL DEFEAT OF THE AFGHANS IN
JANUARY 1730,

TILL

TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN IS CHOSEN KING
IN MARCH 1736.

C H A P. VI.

ASHREEFF *stops at SHIRASS. TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN marches and defeats the AFGHANS the 15th of JANUARY 1730. Flight, distress, and death of ASHREEFF. TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN marches against the TURKS, and takes HAMADAN and TAVRIS; he makes a truce, returns to HERAT, reduces that province, and marches into KHORASAN. The SHAH marches to ERIVAN, obtains some advantages over the TURKS, and is afterwards defeated near the ARAS, and again at HAMADAN.*

ASHREEFF did not entertain the least thoughts, that the active 1729. TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN would remain long at ISFAHAN; on the contrary, he expected to be closely pursued. He had, besides his army, a numerous caravan, of which part consisted in camels loaded with the plunder of ISFAHAN; yet the first day he marched sixty miles. His intentions were to have taken the rout of KHERMAN, but hearing that the BALOUCHES were in arms, and concluding they would have no regard to him as a fugitive prince, possessed of great riches, he determined to march to SHIRASS. When he was informed that the PERSIAN army was loitering

1729: loitering in ISFAHAN, he had leisure to plunder and ravage the province, as well as the city, and gave a loose to all that barbarity, which the complicated motives of revenge and avarice can suggest to a mind naturally cruel. To this he was the more induced, by the conduct of the PERSIANS in ISFAHAN towards the AFGHANS.

TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN having supported the rigor of the season with great constancy, after a march of twenty days arrived near ASTAKHAR². His troops had suffered very much by the severity of the season, and want of provisions, the AFGHANS having laid the country waste; so that the PERSIAN general found his army considerably diminished, by mortality and desertion. The AFGHANS having fixed their camp in an advantageous situation, determined to try the fortune of another battle. The PERSIAN troops, on their part, were impatient to give a finishing stroke to the AFGHANS. The 15th of JANUARY, TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN attacked the AFGHANS with all his troops, with the same vigor as he had done at MOURTCHAKOR, and put them instantly to flight; insomuch that he was apprehensive, lest by so feeble a resistance they meant only to draw him into an ambuscade. He had adopted it as a maxim, not to separate his troops; being sensible that when a detachment is routed, their flight often throws a whole army into confusion; and that the speed with which the vanquished fly, is but a precarious security to them, since the conqueror must overtake them at last.

An excess of caution, may bring on the same consequences as rashness: the KHAN's great circumspection, upon this occasion, gave the AFGHANS an opportunity to concert measures for their secure retreat, with all their valuable effects. The houses, gardens, and narrow passages about the city of SHIRASS, were such as rendered the approach difficult; and the KHAN resolved to put nothing to an unnecessary hazard, since it was plain that the pride of the AFGHANS was humbled to the dust.

These people had however taken a resolution, to defend a passage in the north side of the mountains, which leads to the city; and dividing their men

² This city is near the ruins of the ancient PERSEPOLIS.

men into platoons, made several discharges on the PERSIAN army: finding this did not hinder the PERSIANS from marching on in regular order, they fled to SHIRASS. ASHREFF being now reduced to the last extremity, sent two of his principal officers to TÄHMÄS KOULI KHAN, with offers of delivering up the princesses, also the treasure and other effects belonging to the crown, on condition that he and his troops should retire out of PERSIA unmolested, and carry with them their families, arms, and baggage. To this the KHAN replied, that he would not comply with such proposals; on the contrary, that if they did not deliver up ASHREFF, he would put all the AFGHANS to the sword. These officers then pretended, that if the KHAN would grant them quarter, they would deliver up their chief: to this no definitive answer was given, but the deputies were permitted to retire.

In the interim ASHREFF, who was not ignorant that he had nothing to expect but a cruel death, if he fell into the hands of the PERSIANS, marched off in the night, and was got to some distance before the KHAN was informed of it. It may be presumed, that it did not give him any great concern that he had missed the recovery of the princesses of the royal blood, however he might be affected with regard to the treasure. In order to facilitate their retreat, the AFGHANS separated into different bodies; it therefore became the more difficult to prevent their flight. The KHAN was not perhaps so much concerned about this, as his army imagined; since every circumstance of his conduct proved that he was in his heart a TARTAR, and more disposed to favour that nation than the natives of PERSIA; and thus we may, in some measure, reconcile a conduct seemingly so contrary to the natural activity of his genius. However, on his arrival at SHIRASS, he caused several of the AFGHANS, whom he found there, to be put to death: those of any distinction he sent prisoners to ISFAHAN with the news of his victory.

Altho' ASHREFF had made a sudden and secret flight, some of the parties, which the KHAN detached after him, overtook the AFGHANS, and a skirmish ensued, but the PERSIANS were obliged to retreat. It is not easy to

1730. figure the difficulties which ASHREFF encountered; his riches serving only to increase his danger: besides the great distress he was in for provision and forage, in the dead of winter, he was perpetually attacked, on every side by the peasants, till at length he was obliged to abandon his baggage, and after that to drop all the PERSIAN women and children, whom he was carrying into captivity. Some of his followers, transported with rage and jealousy, killed their women, to prevent their falling into the hands of their enemies.

Under these circumstances, it was impossible for them to keep together in any considerable body: their division gave an opportunity to most of their captives to escape; and among these were the aunt and sister of SHAH TÄHMAS. As soon as these ladies returned to SHIRASS, they were conducted honourably to the court at ISFAHAN, and the former was given to TÄHMAS KOULI KHAN in marriage. Hunger and thirst, cold and fatigue, with incessant skirmishes, having dispersed the AFGHANS; ASHREFF had with him only 200 men, when he was attacked by a body of the BALLOUCHES*: he made a very gallant defence, but at length he and his people were cut to pieces.

Thus ended the usurpation of the AFGHANS, but not the calamities of PERSIA. The death of ASHREFF was but a prelude to those mischiefs, which NADIR, that scourge of heaven, was to bring on this unhappy country. The weakness of HUSSEIN's reign, had been the first apparent cause, which by a chain of effects could hardly fail to plunge this miserable nation into further misfortunes, not inferior to those it had felt under the cruel AFGHANS.

TÄHMAS KOULI KHAN remained about two months in SHIRASS, and refreshed his army. As soon as the spring approached, he directed his course towards HAMADAN: his name was already so formidable to the
TURKS,

* There are different accounts given concerning the place where this AFGHAN chief ended his life, but as the desert of SEGESTAN was his rout to KANDAHAR, it may be presumed that he was not very far advanced in that country when this event happened.

TURKS, that from his valour and experience, they dreaded the loss of those dominions, which they had conquered during the late troubles in PERSIA. 1730.
If he was an object of terror to them, his conduct also gave umbrage at the court of ISFAHAN; the ascendancy he had obtained by means of the army under his command, rendered him already too great for a subject.

SHAH TĀHMAS had no sooner made a disposition of his interior government, than he sent an ambassador to the port, to acquaint the grand signior of his re-establishment in the government of the PERSIAN empire; and that he desired to live in perfect amity with the TURKS; demanding, however, the restitution of his dominions, which they had taken during the troubles, and also all the PERSIAN prisoners. The ambassador had hardly opened his commission, when news arrived at CONSTANTINOPLE, that the PERSIAN army had already taken HAMADAN. The TURKISH ministry enraged at this proceeding, declined any further conference. The ambassador declared, that he believed the news was not true, or that those hostilities had been committed, contrary to his master's intention, by some rebellious subjects: however, the TURKS resolved immediately to declare war against the PERSIANS, and accordingly made great preparations to carry it on with vigor.

In the mean while, TĀHMAS KOULI KHAN had by his arbitrary proceedings, and the abuse of his authority, rendered his security absolutely inconsistent with peaceable measures; or, indeed, with any other situation than that of being at the head of an army. He had, in fact, beaten ABDALLAH BASHA, and taken HAMADAN, and following the TURKS to KERMANSHAH, completed the defeat of that army. After putting garrisons in these places, he marched for TAVRIS and ARDEVILLE^f, which the BASHA KOUPROLI was ordered to defend with 40,000 men; however, the KHAN having out-marched him, took these places. The TURKS being thus terrified at the progress of the PERSIANS, demanded a truce, to which TĀHMAS KOULI KHAN consented the more readily, as
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^f This city had been famous for the sepulchres of the PERSIAN kings, for colleges richly endowed, and mosques with costly ornaments in silver, but the TURKS during the troubles alienated the lands, and plunder'd the riches.

1730. the ABDOLLEES of HERAT had revolted, and formed a considerable army. Upon this he returned back with a large body of his troops, and by a laborious march entered the country of ESFERAIN, and defeated the ABDOLLEES in a pitched battle. He then blockaded HERAT, which being unprovided for a siege, was obliged to submit. He put the governor and all the principal persons concerned in the rebellion to death, and leaving a garrison of his own men, he marched to MESCHED.

TÆHMAS SHAH concluded that the truce with the port would not terminate in any accommodation: the TURKS took advantage of the absence of KOULI KHAN, and great preparations were made for the march of the OTTOMAN armies. The SHAH therefore left ISFAHAN in OCTOBER, with an army of about 20,000 men, directing his course towards TAVRIS, where he joined the troops left by his general TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN. From thence he marched over the mountains of ARMENIA, in the height of winter, by which he lost a considerable number of his men: and about 1731. the end of FEBRUARY he reached ERIVAN. ALI BASHA, SERASKIER of that province, had taken care to supply the city, not only for a siege, but also to act offensively against the PERSIANS when a favourable opportunity should offer: accordingly he caused 6000 of his men to march out of the garrison to attack the PERSIANS, with instructions to retreat at the first fire. This order was executed so well, that the PERSIANS having the appearance of a victory, followed the TURKS, and fell into the snare; for a masked battery of cannon was played on them so furiously, that they lost a great number of men. The BASHA at the same time marched out of his camp, and attacked the PERSIANS in flank, so that the battle became very bloody on both sides; however, the PERSIAN valour was superior to that of the TURKS, who were driven back to their entrenchments. The SHAH then laid siege to the castle, but the TURKS having laid the country waste, he soon found his army in distress for provisions, and was obliged to raise the siege. The PERSIAN army then directed their course towards TAVRIS. ALI BASHA followed them, and soon met and joined the forces of BASHA KOUPROLI. The union of the TURKISH troops having rendered them superior to the PERSIANS, they attacked the PERSIAN army near the city ASTABAT, and defeated them, pushing some of their troops into the river

ZENGUI^r; many of them were drowned, and a great number taken prisoners. Among the latter was SEFFIE KOULI KHAN, a general of distinction, who had been formerly the ATHEMAT DOULET of SHAH HUSSEIN. This person, now about 60 years of age, was remarkable for his knowledge and bravery. When he was brought prisoner to CONSTANTINOPLE, the grand signior demanded of him, why at the late siege of TAVRIS he had suffered the chief MULLAH and his family to be massacred? He answered in an undaunted tone, "There are rascals in PERSIA as well as in TURKEY, and when a place is taken by assault, it is impossible for commanders to prevent disorders." Whatever might be the reasons which induced the OTTOMAN court to behave thus cruelly to this gallant officer; he was conducted richly clothed, with his hands tied behind him, to a place near the seraglio, where the grand signior glutted his resentment in seeing his head cut off. In the mean time, the PERSIAN ambassadors had been very ill treated, and even plundered on the road, so that the TURKS seemed to observe no terms with their enemies, but determined to lay waste the borders of PERSIA with fire and sword.

TÄHMAS SHAH had, before his defeat near ASTABAT, resolved to abandon TAVRIS, in order to provide for the security of HAMADAN, to which ACHMED BASHA was preparing to lay siege. The PERSIAN army reached the plains of HAMADAN in SEPTEMBER, being reduced from 50* to less than 30,000 men. With these were joined the garrison of the city; and a bloody battle ensued between the two armies, in which the TURKS were victorious. The SHAH returned with his scattered forces to CASBIN; and HAMADAN fell again into the hands of the TURKS. Thus the OTTOMAN army gained this year, what they lost the year before.

During these transactions in the field, the situation of affairs in TURKEY was changed by intestine commotions. As they had moreover much to lose, without a prospect of making any further acquisition, peace was become very desirable. ACHMED, BASHA of BAGDAT, in consequence of the success of the PERSIANS the preceding year, had received orders to make a peace with them on the best terms he could. IBRAHIM BASHA, the grand

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vizir,

^r This river falls into the ARAS, a little below ASTABAT. he collected a great number of forces in his march through PERSIA into the TURKISH dominions, besides the forces he found at TAVRIS.

* It may be presumed that

1731. vizir, was apprehensive that if success attended the arms of the PERSIANS in reconquering the provinces wrested from that monarchy, during the invasion of the AFGHANS, such an event would necessarily render his safety the more precarious, as he was already odious to the people.

The end of SEPTEMBER the preceding year, a great revolution happened at CONSTANTINOPLE; and as this event was attended with remarkable circumstances, it will not be foreign to our subject, to give a succinct account of it.

CHAP. VII.

An account of the revolution in TURKEY. The grand vizir, and several other great officers put to death. ACHMED the III^d dethroned. MAHOMMED advanced to the government. The extraordinary adventures of PATRONA KALIL, chief of the rebels.

1730. IT often pleases the wisdom of providence to accomplish the greatest ends by ignoble instruments. PATRONA KALIL, a native of ALBANIA, who had been a common sailor, and was now only a simple Janissary, became the instrument of dethroning ACHMED the III. the grand signior, in resentment of the evil administration of the government, and the rapacious avarice of IBRAHIM BASHA the grand vizir.

PATRONA appeared in arms the 28th of SEPTEMBER, at the head of a few desperate fellows. It was agreed this small body should divide itself into three companies, and taking different routs they were to meet at ATMEIDAN^a, which was appointed their general rendezvous. This disposition being made, PATRONA began his march, displaying a small standard; his companions, with sabres in their hands, cried out, that all shopkeepers and mechanicks should shut up their shops, and every good mussulman should follow their ensigns to ATMEIDAN, where they would communicate the just cause of their appearing in arms against the present government. The two other companies having done the same, the whole city was in an alarm,

and

^a A p'ain just without the city.

and the shops were shut up. The TURKS who did not join them, confined themselves to their houses. The grand signior, and his vizir IBRAHIM, were at their country palaces at SCUTARI; and the REYS EFFENDI^b was also at one of his country houses on the canal which extends to the BLACK SEA. This minister, being given up to his natural indolence, treated the account which was sent of the tumult as a matter below his attention; so that there was no person of authority to quash this commotion in the city, except the AGA of the Janissaries, and the KIAYA^c of the grand vizir. The last, apprehensive of danger, retired; whilst the AGA put himself at the head of his guards, designing to disperse the mob. He soon found that his very guards were corrupted; and instead of being disposed to act offensively against the promoters of the sedition, they began to complain of his not joining with them to obtain justice of the grand vizir.

Things being thus circumstanced, he was intirely at a loss what measures to take, till news was brought him that a party of the rebels were gone to plunder his palace; upon which he retired to provide for his own security. The mob increased every moment: they obliged all the TURKS they met to join them, threatening to kill those who refused; and some unhappy persons, who had no inclination to embark in so desperate an enterprize, actually fell a sacrifice to their fury. They now broke open all the prisons, and made slaves and malefactors the companions of their fortune. As their number augmented, those whom fear rather than inclination had hitherto restrained, became the partners of their rebellion. Thus the fire of sedition had already made a great progress, before the grand vizir had received any exact information of it; so that it was not till four in the afternoon that the MUFTI^d, the KAIMAKHAN^e, and the KIAYA, with several other principal officers of state, came to inform him to what a height the insurrection was arrived. Immediately a council was held, which lasted till night without any resolution, but that they should hold another council at the palace of the grand signior.

Here

^a Secretary of state.

^b This is the great usher of the household, the vizir as well as the

^c The first ecclesiastic, or chief of the law.

^d The deputy of

the grand vizir, who acts as governor of CONSTANTINOPLE.

1730. Here it was resolved that the court should immediately go to CONSTANTINOPLE; and they accordingly embarked in a yacht. They were no sooner arrived, than the grand vizir, with the other ministers, began to deliberate what measures to take under such pressing circumstances, which, were of such a nature, as seemed already to baffle the utmost of their skill and authority. They resolved however unanimously, that the only effectual method was the force of arms, and therefore a body of troops should be collected. This indeed seemed to be the only expedient, but the grand signior being informed of their resolution, was unwilling to try such desperate means. As soon as it was day, his highness sent one of the principal officers of the BOSTANGIS* to ATMEIDAN, to command the rebels in the grand signior's name to retire; and to acquaint them that if they did not shew a ready obedience, his highness would be obliged to have recourse to arms. They made reply with great unconcern, that they were assembled for the honour and welfare of the state, and would not lay down their arms, till the sultan redressed their grievances.

The grand signior highly incensed at so insolent an answer, gratified his resentment in reproaching his vizir IBRAHIM as the cause of the disorder. The vizir laid the fault on the KAIMAKHAN, loading him with the most heavy reproaches in the presence of the sultan; turning towards whom he said, "Will your highness suffer that a wretch so vile and despicable as this shall longer enjoy the light." The sultan struck with the manner in which his vizir accused the KAIMAKHAN, caused him immediately to be arrested: and then assuming a composed air, discoursed with the vizir upon the situation of their affairs. IBRAHIM who was an able, tho' not an honest minister, found the advice his master gave was impracticable; therefore, without amusing him with vain projects, he recommended force as the only expedient to reduce the rebellion. "I see," continued he, "in this crisis of the empire, only two expedients; either that your highness put yourself at the head of your household troops, and fall upon the rebels, or that you permit me to go in your place. I flatter myself that I am sufficiently beloved by the soldiers to form a considerable party, as soon as I shall appear."

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* These are a species of militia in TURKEY, but they also serve as guards of the seraglio.

The timorous sultan relished neither of these proposals, but still vainly endeavoured to avail himself of the right he derived as sovereign of the people. He therefore caused the standard of MAHOMMED to be forthwith displayed at the gates of the seraglio, and ordered a proclamation to be made from the ramparts, that every soldier who would come under this banner, to assist him in reducing the rebels, should receive a gratification of 30 crowns^a; and, moreover, that their pay should be augmented two aspers. He soon found that these fair promises were ineffectual, and therefore gave orders that the BOSTANGIS should be assembled, but neither were these orders practicable, for those who were capable of bearing arms concealed themselves, having no inclination to fight in behalf of a ministry, which had been long odious to them. His next application was to the marine; but before any number of men could be collected, PATRONA KALIL, at the head of a body of rebels, fell upon the arsenal, drove the captain BASHA from it, and threatened the soldiers of the marine, if they persisted in defending the court, he would grant them no quarter, but would burn their houses, together with all the ships and gallies belonging to the sultan. By this means, he dispersed a great number who had already received money for enlisting, and brought off others to join his party, at the same time, he augmented his forces with all the TURKISH malefactors and slaves, who were in the gallies and baths.

At length the grand signior sent a deputation to the rebels, demanding what their intentions were; they answered, that they desired the MUFTI, the grand vizir IBRAHIM BASHA, the KAÏMAKHAN, MUSTAPHA BASHA, and MAHOMMED the KIAYA, might be delivered to them: with regard to his highness, they were satisfied with his reign, and wished him prosperity. Upon this answer, the sultan immediately caused the two last to be arrested, and sent to acquaint the rebels that they should be put to death; but that, in consideration of his compliance so far, they ought to be contented with the banishment of the MUFTI and VIZIR. The rebels consented to spare the MUFTI, but still persisted in their first demand in regard to the VIZIR; insomuch, that the sultan found his own security would be endangered by his refusal.

In

^a I suppose dollars of 4s.

1730. In the mean while PATRONA conducted himself with all the dignity and good order of a commander in chief, exacting an oath from his companions, that they should commit no kind of excess. For the better support of their discipline, some, who had committed thefts and disorders, were actually punished with death by a consent of the leaders of the rebellion: by which means the city was supplied with provisions as usual. The Janissaries, who had revolted long before in their hearts, joined the rebels at ATMEIDAN, where they formed a regular camp. This step seemed to render the affairs of the court desperate; however, the sultan made another effort to obtain the life of IBRAHIM BASHA: to which the rebels made no other reply, than that they had already done enough in pardoning the MUFTI. The grand vizir, and other great officers already mentioned, were accordingly condemned to die, and the 30th of SEPTEMBER the delinquents were conducted to KAPU ORASI^k. The approach of death so terrified the KIAYA, that he rendered up his soul without the hand of the executioner. The KAIMAKHAN performed the offices of devotion, and received the absolution which is usual on such important occasions, in a very composed and regular manner. The vizir did not express less fortitude and composure, but he neither said his prayers, nor received absolution; observing, that as his life was so near an end, he would not give himself that trouble.

How far the grand vizir had misbehaved, during the long administration of twelve years, may be judged from the immense riches which he left behind him. One of the gentlemen of his bed-chamber^l, who had been in his secrets, now confessed that in a vault under the pigeon-house, which this minister had caused to be built in one of the courts of the seraglio, his riches were deposited. From hence were taken four iron chests, of which three contained 18 long leather bags, with 60,000 sequins^m funduklis in each, and the fourth contained a great quantity of precious stones. The KIAYA of IBRAHIM's harram, who had a perfect knowledge of his affairs, confessed that a great part of these riches was the price of injustice, and that

^k The apartment in the seraglio, where prisoners of state are put to death.

^l АУАСТАР

ОСЛАР.

^m At 9 s. 4 d. the sequin is 1,512,000 / which seems to be much too large a sum to be amassed by any minister in any country, without very great corruption indeed.

that he had himself been employed in the most secret manner, at different times, in conveying money into these chests. 1730.

The next day in the morning, the bodies of these three great officers, without any funeral rites, and almost naked, were conveyed in a cart to ATMIDAN, followed by a crowd, who expressed great contempt and resentment of the conduct of these ministers by insulting their remains, and declaring with loud acclamations, that they hoped all the enemies of their religion and country would meet with the same fate. When the bodies were brought into the camp, the rebels were loud in their expressions of resentment, that the grand signior had not delivered the traitors alive, as he had promised. It was urged, on the other hand, that the sultans had never been accustomed to deliver their ministers alive into the hands of their enemies, and that they ought to be satisfied with the great condescension which his highness had shewn upon this occasion.

The rebels having carried their point thus far, were intoxicated with their own success, and began to declare without reserve, that they would depose the SULTAN ACHMED III. and set his nephew MAHOMMED on the throne. They considered that ACHMED was naturally cruel, and had caused all those to be put to death who had dethroned his brother MUSTA-PHA II. in 1703, and consequently, they could expect very little quarter from him, should his power be again established, as they had been the authors of the death of his near relation IBRAHIM: on the contrary, should they chuse MAHOMMED, who had been confined for seven and twenty years, there was great reason to believe he would acknowledge their services. ACHMED, in reality, had given them no remarkable cause of complaint, except his great favour to IBRAHIM BASHA; so that it was in some measure difficult to find a specious motive for this last act of violence on the state. They pretended, that the body of the vizir IBRAHIM was not among those of the delinquents, however, after hanging the bodies of the KAIMAKHAN and KIAYA, each upon a tree, as spectacles to the people, they dragged the third, which was really IBRAHIM's, at a horse's tail to the gates of the seraglio.

1730.

Here they demanded with the most clamorous insolence, that the real vizir with all his creatures should be delivered to them alive, as also the REYS EFFENDI; adding, that as they could not depend on the promises of ACHMED, who contrary to all laws, persisted in protecting a villain, whose avarice had plunged the state into the greatest distress, he was no longer worthy to reign: at the same time they proclaimed MAHOMMED. ACHMED tried every expedient to quiet them, offering them considerable rewards, and to deliver up all those whom they demanded; but they were inflexibly bent on dethroning him. On their return to ATMEIDAN, they threw the carcass of IBRAHIM into the common road, near a fountain, where this minister had erected an elegant structure about two years before, as an embellishment to the city, and for the use of the people.

The rebels having plunged themselves so deep, began to find the necessity of some person, skilled and experienced in politics, to conduct them in the completion of their work. ISPIRI ZADE, one of the sultan's chaplains, though he had often received the highest marks of the royal bounty, had the ingratitude to abandon his master, and join in the conspiracy. This man had concealed his ambition under the cloak of piety and mortification, and was now secretly become their chief adviser. The 1st of OCTOBER he entered the seraglio, where he found the ministers of ACHMED under a great consternation, not knowing what would be the issue of the rebellion. As soon as this treacherous priest entered the apartment, the ministers inquired impatiently what was passing in the city. He answered with the air of a man depressed with sorrow: "The rebels will not upon any account submit that ACHMED shall reign over them any longer; all my endeavours in favour of the sultan are rendered abortive, by the fierceness of their animosity. It is in vain to flatter ourselves any longer, that we shall be able to alter their resolution."

At these words, the whole assembly became motionless, and unable to utter a word. The perfidious ISPIRI ZADE, observing that there was no body who dared to acquaint the sultan with this news, went himself. As soon as he entered the royal presence, ACHMED said, "Are the rebels

" yet

“ yet at ATMEIDAN? why do they not retire? I have shewn them more
 “ favour than I ought: I have offered to do them justice on those of 1730.
 “ whom they complain; and I have promised them large presents; what
 “ would they have more?” ISPIRI ZADE replied, in a bold but com-
 posed tone, “ Thy reign is finished; thy revolted subjects will no longer
 “ submit to thy dominion.” ACHMED, starting up, replied, “ Whence
 “ comes it that you have delayed to give me this information?” Then
 running immediately to the apartment ^a of MAHOMMED his nephew, he
 took him by the hand, and conducting him to the throne, placed him
 there himself, and was the first who saluted him as emperor. Among
 many tender things, he spoke to this effect: “ Remember that your fa-
 “ ther lost the place in which you are now seated, by his blind com-
 “ plaisance for his musti FEIZOULLAH EFFENDI; and that I lose it my-
 “ self, by having trusted too much to my vizir IBRAHIM BASHA. Learn
 “ from our examples not to confide in your ministers without due cir-
 “ cumspection. If I had always followed my old maxims, I should
 “ never have left mine so long in place, or omitted to have demanded
 “ frequent and regular accounts of the affairs of the empire. Perhaps I
 “ might have then finished my reign as gloriously as I began it. Farewel;
 “ I wish that yours may be more happy; and I hope that you will have
 “ a proper regard for me and my children, whom I recommend to your
 “ care.” Immediately the unfortunate ACHMED retired to those apart-
 ments which his nephew had just quitted.

After the ceremony of the inauguration of the new sultan was per-
 formed with the usual pomp, and he had received the honours due to
 this high dignity; his curiosity excited him to see PATRONA KALIL,
 who had been the instrument of his exaltation to the throne. This man
 appeared before the grand signior in the habit of a common Janissary,
 with his naked knees. He advanced with a bold air to the sultan's throne,
 and kissed his hand. His highness said, “ What can I do for thee?
 “ Thou hast a right to demand of me any favour.” This artful wicked
 fellow, now gave marks of more noble and generous sentiments, than
 could be expected from his birth and past life, and answered the sultan

1730, to this purpose: "As to the present time, I am arrived at the highest point of my wishes, in seeing your highness on the throne of the OTTOMAN empire. With regard to the future, I know I have nothing to expect from you but an ignominious death." The grand signior replied, "I swear, I will never do you any harm; tell me only what recompence I can make you, and I grant it before you ask." "Since your royal goodness is without bounds," replied PATRONA, "I desire that you will suppress all the new imposts with which your subjects have been loaded under the late administration."

This was a dangerous request, as it seemed to increase the popularity of this fellow; however the grand signior did not hesitate to comply, and orders were immediately given to suspend the collection of those taxes. In the interim the rebels, far from disbanding, committed many outrages, particularly in pillaging several houses of persons proscribed, which had been sealed up with the royal seal. The new sultan could not but have a quick resentment of so great a mark of disrespect, as well as violation of the laws; however, as he was not yet secure on his throne, he desired that they would refrain from such kind of executions; representing at the same time, that as they had placed him on the throne, they ought to leave the power and authority of punishing to him, in the manner which he should think most convenient. These gentle remonstrances, though founded in the highest reason, did not prevail on the base and undisciplined minds of the rebels; on the contrary, they renewed their instances that the REYS EFFENDI should be delivered up to them. Tho' this minister had not been so guilty as the other officers of state, yet he thought proper to retire and conceal himself. But had he been present, the new sultan seemed in no disposition to comply with their extravagance, the gratification of which might have only served to increase their tumultuous fury.

The rebels proceeded in rifling the houses of those who were most obnoxious to them: the plunder of the grandees, together with the riches of the vizir, enabled PATRONA to make a plentiful distribution of money to gratify all his followers, among whom even children and old

old men, were admitted, as by this means he increased his popularity. 1730.
 The lieutenant-general of the Janissaries, tho' chosen by the rebels, was confirmed by the sultan; he therefore took the liberty to represent, that so profuse a liberality to persons so little intitled to it, ill suited with just government, in the cause of which they had taken up arms; but this unhappy officer, for his indiscreet zeal, was cut to pieces on the spot.

The grand signior, observing that it would be impossible to establish peace whilst PATRONA appeared in arms, proposed to give him a rich government, or a sum of money to retire. PATRONA knew well that he could have no security but in arms; however he continued to chastise those who committed any outrage without his permission. All the new officers of state, out of fear of his lawless power, paid him the greatest respect.

PATRONA at length reflecting, that the character of a disinterested patriot, in which he had hitherto appeared, would not support him, when the lives of the inhabitants of CONSTANTINOPLE, together with their wealth should cease to be in his power; began to accept bribes, and to sell his favours for money. His companions being informed of it, expressed their resentment with some bitterness, as he thus violated those principles, in defence of which they had taken up arms. The matter was but too apparent, and tended much to weaken his interest; however, he still pretended that all his passions and desires centered in the public good.

Their plundering and proscriptions still continuing, the sultan convoked a council, composed of his new musti and principal officers of state. In consequence of this, the musti prepared his religious artillery, by sending his GETFA to the rebel camp at ATMEIDAN, by the ISTAMBOUL EF-FENDI*. This was a humorous whimsical fellow, who having from the beginning taken the part of the rebels, was in great esteem amongst them, and played his part so well, that the most sensible among the Janissaries consented to retire to their quarters, and to submit to the sultan's pleasure. At the same time the rebels were threatened, that if they did not retire,

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* Lieutenant of the police in CONSTANTINOPLE.

1730. " war, to prevent greater evils, and to revenge ourselves on them for the
 " blood of musklemen, which they have been the cause of spilling. Let
 " us immediately send a great army against them, whilst the TARTARS
 " invade the country of these infidels on the other side, and bring the
 " inhabitants into slavery. I think also that there is an absolute necessity
 " to curb the bashas on the frontiers, in their evil practices, so far from
 " taking care of the troops, and regarding the Janissaries as the sure sup-
 " port of this monarchy, they treat them ill, and retain their pay for
 " their private use, and to gratify their own creatures."

He made several other remarks in as wild and indigested a manner, whilst the whole assembly, with hearts full of indignation, deplored the wretched situation of the state, that obliged the great council of the OTTOMAN empire to hear this despicable wretch presume to give laws. At length the KHAN of the TARTARS, tired of hearing his impertinent discourse, said, " You, who speak so much of war, do you know what it is ?
 " What reasons are there that his highness should declare war against the
 " RUSSIANS ? Do you not know that the court is at peace with them ;
 " and that without just cause we ought not to break that peace ? Before
 " we proceed to such extremities, we ought to know the truth of the
 " extraordinary reports which you make. After this, upon mature de-
 " liberation, we might resolve whether peace or war is most for the ho-
 " nour and advantage of the empire. These are not such light matters
 " as you seem to imagine : tell me by what rout you would penetrate
 " into RUSSIA ?" " By what rout," replied PATRONA, " that is a plea-
 " sant question indeed ; why can't we go the same way as we did before,
 " you on one side, and we on the other ?" The TARTAR prince, with
 an air that plainly shewed he thought it below his dignity to make any
 answer, otherwise than as the circumstances of the state rendered it ne-
 cessary to temporize, spoke to this effect : " Formerly we passed through
 " POLAND, because we were then at war with the POLANDERS, but
 " at present we are at peace with them. Is it just to spread desola-
 " tion among people, against whom we have no cause of complaint ?
 " Do you know that an army of an hundred thousand TARTARS, can-

"not march into a country without ruining it? It is true that war is the proper occupation, and the real source of the riches of my subjects: shut up in the plains of the CRIM, as we have no trade, we decline into poverty; but we had rather sacrifice our particular interest, than justice, equity, and the laws of nations. We know that wars are the chastisements of heaven; and we ought to reflect maturely before we take up arms, that we may not repent when we are obliged to lay them down again. These are not affairs to be resolved on in a hurry." PATRONA replied, "I see no harm in carrying desolation into the country of infidels; and as to our deliberations, I did not expect this council should have been composed of more than you, MOUSLOUK AGA, the grand vizir, a few other persons, and myself; and for the future, if you please, it shall be so, that we may conduct our business with more secrecy; otherwise the infidels, being informed of our resolutions, will disconcert our measures." "When the business of a council," replied the KHAN, "is to consult of war or peace, it is a maxim established among us, to have numerous assemblies, that we may know the different sentiments of men upon so weighty a concern. You see that IBRAHIM BASHA, ambitious of governing alone, not only perished himself by an ignominious death, but was near drawing on the ruin of the empire. It is astonishing, that so recent and terrible an example does not instruct you to avoid the danger of directing solely; but I declare, if that continues, I will supplicate his highness to send me into the remotest banishment, rather than be a witness to the violation of his honour; and the ruin of the state."

So bold a declaration as this, could not but silence the formidable PATRONA. The council broke up, and nothing was determined. Many entertained

This was another instance of the same stamp as PATRONA himself, who had forfeited his life on several occasions. This fellow, during the transactions of the late revolution, went with an imperious air into some of the tribunals in CONSTANTINOPLE, and without reserve dispatched his emissaries who attended him, with orders to kill such and such persons; letting those who were present know at the same time who he was, and that he had the gift of discovering the hearts of men; that he loved honest men and hated rascals; bidding them look to themselves. Such was the power of the Janissaries at that time, and the terror which they spread through the city.

1730. entertained the most ardent wishes to see the destruction of the rebels, who, on their part, concerted measures to put their own creatures in possession of the principal offices of the government, as the only means of securing themselves.

Two days afterwards, the grand signior invited PATRONA, MOUSLOUK, and the AGA of the Janissaries, to court, desiring to be informed of the effect of their conference, and to consult with them what measures to pursue in regard to the affairs of PERSIA, as well as the interior government of the empire. At 11 o'clock they attended, with a retinue of six and twenty persons, whom they left in the first court, and were themselves conducted to the chamber, where the OTTOMAN princes are circumcised. Here they found the KHAN of the TARTARS, the musti, the grand vizir, with other great officers of the crown, seated according to their rank: there were also many officers of the BOSTANGIS, and other persons, standing. The rebels took their seats, without seeming to suspect any danger, as the BOSTANGIS are considered as domestics of the seraglio.

The grand vizir opened the assembly, and addressing himself to PATRONA, said, "The grand signior has made you BEGLERBEG of ROMANIA, and gives you the command of 30,000 men, with which you are to join ACHMED, BASHA of BAGDAT, and to act in concert with him against the PERSIANS." He next spoke to MOUSLOUK AGA in these terms: "His highness has appointed you BEGLERBEG of NATOLIA, with a body of troops under your command." And then turning to the AGA of the Janissaries, he acquainted him, "That he was appointed BASHA of three tails." Thus he was going on, when MUSTAPHA AGA cried out aloud, "Let all the enemies of the state be exterminated;" and immediately thirty of the officers of the BOSTANGIS fell

fell with their sabres upon PATRONA KALIL, MOUSLOUK, and the AGA 1730 of the Janissaries. The first was drawing his dagger from under his furr to defend himself, when MUSTAPHA AGA cut his arm with a stroke of his sabre: MOUSLOUK threw his robe over his face, and resigned himself to his destiny like a CÆSAR.

It may appear extraordinary, that these traitors left their guard in the outward court, however, the difficulty is reconciled, when we consider that the business they were to treat of, was of an important nature, and that they had, in the fond presumption of their imaginations, flattered themselves into a belief that the grand signior had adopted their sentiments; not only with regard to the affairs of the empire, but also in respect to the secret manner in which they proposed to hold their councils, agreeably to what PATRONA had recommended in the last assembly.

As soon as these rebel chiefs were put to death, their bodies were thrown into the court before the apartment where the catastrophe happened. A messenger was immediately sent to acquaint their guard, that as the grand signior had been pleased to present their chiefs with a coat of honour, his highness intended also to give them each a CARTAN*; and for this purpose they were to enter three or four at a time, that the ceremony might be performed with decency. These deluded wretches were no sooner arrived in the interior part of the second court, than they underwent the same fate as their masters: some of them in the outer court at length began to suspect, as none of their companions returned, that they were ensnared, and attempted to save themselves: but the gates were shut upon them, and they were slaughtered in the same manner as the others.

The report now prevailed in the city, that PATRONA, MOUSLOUK, and the AGA of the Janissaries, had been a long time in the seraglio, all the gates of which were shut. This brought several of the party thither, who began to murmur, and threaten violence, but as soon as they saw the gates opened, and several carts brought forth loaded with the bodies of their chiefs reeking with blood, they were seized with dismay and fled. All these mangled carcases were exposed in the street for two

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hours.

* This is the term for those vestments which are presented as marks of favour.

1730. hours; after which, the court, apprehensive that so hideous a spectacle might conjure up some new frenzy among the people, caused them to be thrown into the sea.

A numerous body of guards were now ordered to patrol the streets, to keep good order, and prevent any desperate attempt to fire the city; for PATRONA had often declared, that this would be the consequence of taking away his life. At the same time, several of the rebels were seized and put to death; and the butcher YANIKA survived his patron but one day. Public thanks were then ordered to be given to the Almighty, for his singular mercy in delivering the state from such imminent danger. A general pardon was published to all the rebels, except certain persons who were deemed the chief conductors of the confederacy; but their punishment also was changed into banishment. Beside these acts of clemency, large donations were presented to the Janissaries, Spahis², and other orders of the soldiery who had been concerned in the revolt. Such marks of a generous disposition in their sovereign, converted their resentment into wishes for his prosperity and happiness; so that by the end of NOVEMBER, the city was, to all appearance, restored to its former tranquillity.

1731. The flames of sedition were not however extinguished. The blood of PATRONA KALIL, MOUSLOUK, and their other companions, like that of the HYDRA, nourished new monsters, which in less than four months grew to a formidable size. The great dissipation of treasure which this revolution had caused, together with the want of conduct in the new ministers, not only occasioned the Janissaries to be in arrears for their pay, but also created a scarcity of provisions in CONSTANTINOPLE. Towards the end of FEBRUARY this year, people began to murmur aloud, and predict another revolution.

The number of loose and abandoned fellows, whom the late rebellion had brought together, was great. These from their natural disposition, and from their idle manner of living, were ripe for any desperate enterprise. The partizans of ACHMED, the dethroned sultan, submitted with reluctance

² These are cavalry of the ASIATIC dominions of TURKEY.

reluctancy to the destiny of their late master; so that the spirit of rebellion was secretly fomented. The court seemed, however, to have no suspicion of it, when news was brought the 25th of MARCH, that a body of people had assembled at ATMEIDAN, the ordinary rendezvous of malecontents, who, after pillaging several shops, had collected a number of arms. These being joined by a party of the Janissaries, broke open and plundered the house of the AGA of the Janissaries, who with difficulty escaped with his life.

The AGA immediately acquainted the grand signior; and his highness ordered the grand vizir, the musti, and other great officers to be assembled. The experience of SEPTEMBER last had taught them, that such lawless force can hardly be suppressed but by military justice: accordingly they instantly collected what forces were at hand, during the night; and lest necessity should oblige them to call for assistance, they carried out the standard of MAHOMMED. The TURKS imagine that those who die in defence of this standard, are entitled to the crown of martyrdom. As soon as day broke, the AGA of the Janissaries at the head of one party, and the grand vizir with another, fell on the rebels at ATMEIDAN. A smart skirmish ensued: the standard-bearer was dismounted, and in danger of losing his standard, which might have had fatal consequences.

The rebels being at length put to flight, retired to the chambers of the Janissaries, who, though they had not taken arms in any considerable numbers, were ripe for rebellion. The grand vizir therefore prudently declined following the rebels, lest the violation of that asylum, which the quarters of these soldiers are esteemed, should furnish a reason for a revolt, and plunge the city into the same disorder, as it had been exposed to four months before. They contented themselves with killing about 200 in the flight, and taking 60 prisoners. As soon as these last had made confession of their accomplices, they were strangled, and their bodies thrown into the sea.

The coffee-houses and taverns were immediately ordered to be shut; and the GREEKS who sell wine had their vessels staved, that no fuel might

1731. be afforded to heat the brains of a desperate mob. A constant patrol was kept in the streets, and the least suspicion rendered the party criminal, so that numbers of innocent persons suffered death. This severe method of curing so dangerous a disorder in the body politic had its effect, and prevented the flames of rebellion from spreading.

There were several parties of the rebels dispersed in different quarters of the city. Some thousands were determined to have joined the camp at ATMEIDAN: had the grand vizir therefore been in any degree less active, it is probable another revolution would have succeeded, with circumstances more bloody and fatal than the former. It was imagined that FATIMA, daughter of ACHMED the III, and widow of the late grand vizir IBRAHIM BASHA, who was strangled, had corrupted the Janissaries, in hopes of revenging the death of her husband. Whether this lady was guilty or not, is a question which has remained unresolved. In order to quash this spirit of sedition as much as possible, a considerable number of BOSNIANS, ALBANIANS, and LATs⁷, were banished out of the city. The grand vizir also omitted no means of humbling the rebels. All those who were strangled or beheaded, were thrown into the sea; and floating about with the waves as spectacles of terror, became a prey to birds, and fish, insomuch that people of any delicacy, would not eat fish for some time.

It was reckoned, that in these different rebellions more than 10,000 men perished by the sword or the bow-string. Above 30,000 were driven out of CONSTANTINOPLE; and the Janissaries were quartered in different parts to prevent their cabals. Those of a seditious spirit were obliged to leave the city; so that the public tranquillity was at length in a great measure restored. The TURKS however suffered very great inconveniences from these disorders; not only by unhinging their government, and giving occasion to a continual change of ministers; but also by the dissipation of their treasure, which rendered them less capable of supporting a war against the PERSIANS.

C H A P.

⁷ These are a people who inhabit the coast of the BLACK SEA, who are robbers and murderers by profession.

C H A P. VIII.

ACHMED, BASHA of BAGDAT, negotiates a peace with the PERSIANS in JANUARY 1732. TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN augments his army in KHORASAN. He disapproves of the peace with the TURKS, and enters into intrigues with his officers. He makes his son governor of KHORASAN; arrives at ISFAHAN in AUGUST 1732, and endeavours to vindicate his conduct to the SHAH.

DURING these intestine commotions in CONSTANTINOPLE, ACHMED, BASHA OF BAGDAT, received full orders to treat with the PERSIANS for a peace, from an apprehension that a defeat of any of their armies in ASIA would unavoidably bring on further revolutions. The loss which TÆHMAS SHAH lately sustained, in a great measure facilitated this undertaking. This prince had also many private reasons, with regard to his interior government, which rendered peace as desirable to him as it was to the TURKS. ACHMED BASHA was too able a minister, to be ignorant of any material circumstance relating to PERSIA, the interest and power of which he perfectly understood; and particularly, that the return of TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN might render the success of another campaign very different from the last. The grand signior had trusted him without reserve, to make the best terms he could. He therefore sent to the PERSIAN king to acquaint him, that notwithstanding the great success of the OTTOMAN arms, his master the grand signior was ready to establish a firm and lasting friendship with him. 1731

The SHAH, who was at CASBIN, received the news with the more satisfaction, as he was under some apprehensions, that if the TURKS had resolved to march to ISFAHAN, that city must have fallen a prey to them; for there was no army between HAMADAN and his metropolis, which could make head against them. The alarm in that city was so great, that when a detachment of the PERSIAN troops arrived there to maintain tranquillity and order, numbers of the inhabitants were preparing for flight.

1731. ACHMED BASHA being apprehensive that his court might rise in her demands, in consequence of the late victory, was desirous to bring on an accomodation with the PERSIANS as soon as possible. Experience, and the light of his own genius had instructed him, that a war with PERSIA could hardly be attended with any good consequences to his country; and that it must certainly hurt his own particular interest; BAGDAT, the capital of his province, having long been an object on which the PERSIAN kings had cast their eyes with earnest wishes.

1732. Towards the close of the last year, the plenipotentiaries on the part of the PERSIANS arrived at the TURKISH camp near HAMADAN. The conferences being opened the 16th of JANUARY following, the preliminary articles were signed. The river ARAS was appointed as the boundary of the PERSIAN dominions; so that the SHAH yielded his right to ARMENIA, ERIVAN, and GEORGIA. The TURKS thus remained possessed of a country near two hundred leagues in extent, which formerly belonged to PERSIA. It was however stipulated, that their joint forces should be united in case of need, to compel the RUSSIANS to evacuate GHILAN, SHIRVAN, and DERBEND, with the rest of the western coast of the CASPIAN sea.

During these transactions, TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN, being possessed of the royal authority to raise money, established already a kind of independency; for the support of which he engaged in his service a considerable number of ABDOLLEES, AFGHANS, OUSDEGS, and TURKUMANS. If we may judge from consequences, and the general tenor of his conduct, he foresaw from the beginning, that the only method by which he could awe the PERSIANS, and arrive at the object in view, would be to form a large army, composed chiefly of TARTARS. For these not having any prejudices concerning the hereditary right of princes, were most likely to be at his devotion, so long as he paid them well, which the power he was invested with, enabled him to do. He employed his time in KHORASAN in putting MESCHED in a situation of defence, and took other measures to prevent the incursions of the TARTARS.

As soon as he heard that the SHAH had lost two battles against the TURKS, and was entering into pacific measures with them, he wrote immediately

mediately to his majesty in the strongest terms, desiring that he would persist in demanding the restitution of all the conquered provinces; adding, that he should join him soon with an army of victorious troops, before whom the TURKS would fly, as the AFGHANS had lately done; that in the mean while, he need only keep on the defensive.

1732.

The SHAH, who in a great measure inherited the peaceable disposition of his father, found more joy in repose than in conquest. It is probable, however, that he was actuated by motives of policy; for having now no enemy to contend with, his numerous standing army would become unnecessary; and he might have a fair opportunity of reducing the enormous power of his general, by either totally disbanding his forces, or reducing them to a small number. To this might be added, that PERSIA having groaned several years under the servitude of the AFGHANS, the people were very much impoverished, and required some respite to cultivate the earth, and rebuild their ruined houses.

After the conclusion of the peace, TÄHMÄS marched with his forces from CASBIN to ISFAHAN; where he ratified the treaty, disbanded some of his troops, and sent others into their respective quarters. He then wrote to his general TÄMAS KOUÏ KHAN, acquainting him, that he had thought proper to put an end to a war so chargeable to his people; and as he had no enemies foreign or domestic, that disturbed the repose of the state, he ordered him to disband the army under his command, and to repair to ISFAHAN, to consult with him concerning the domestic economy of the government, and the welfare of his people.

These pacific measures were by no means consistent with the ambitious projects of the PERSIAN general. He, who in a lower rank of life had been accustomed to follow the dictates of his own passions, unrestrained by any law human or divine, could hardly be expected to shew a passive conduct at the head of a victorious army, intirely devoted to his service. He had already acquainted his chief officers of the king's ill fortune against the TURKS, and the peace which had been made in consequence of it: he represented this conduct as inglorious, impolitic and pusillanimous; and as that which would draw on the misfortunes of the preceding reign, and

1732. plunge the empire into the same distress as it had been in under the **AFGHANS**. He further made them sensible, how much superior their valour and knowledge in the art of war was to that of the **TURKS**; but that pacific measures, after thus rousing themselves to a martial spirit, were the sure way to enervate their minds, and disqualify them for the duties of a foldier; and consequently prepare them to become slaves again: that the **TURKS**, in the mean while, being suffered to possess so fine and extensive a tract of country, would increase in power, and **PERSIA** would be exposed to the greater ruin hereafter: moreover, that such measures must certainly have a more direct aim at himself and them, whose military virtues rendered them objects of jealousy at court; and the experience of **HUSSEIN**'s reign had proved it to be dangerous for **PERSIANS** to distinguish themselves in the service of their country.

Discourses like these carried with them the appearance of honour and integrity; and many who meant well to the royal family, had their loyalty shaken under the specious pretence of the public good. But not to throw all the odium on the king, **NADIR** artfully insinuated to these, that the ministers, whom their sovereign had employed to negotiate this peace, had been false to their trust; or **PERSIA**, supported by their victorious arms, would certainly have obtained terms less dishonourable. As to the common foldiers, what offended them most, was the consideration that no particular gratuity was promised them on their dismissal, after their great and signal services.

Under these circumstances, a man of less art and resolution than **NADIR**, might have tainted their minds with rebellious sentiments, however, it was necessary to conduct his designs to an issue with great circumspection, since there could not be wanting numbers in his army, who were much more inclined to displace their general than their king. Things were not yet arrived to maturity; nor could any certain judgment be formed of the state of affairs at so great a distance. The court was diffident of the general, and the general jealous of the court, so that neither knew exactly what the other intended.

NADIR was not at a loss to find pretences for delaying his return to court, and some time was necessary to plan his scheme for the increase of his power. It is hard to say, if the strong impulse of self-preservation had not almost as great a share as ambition. The easy credulous nature of TÆHMAS might have forgiven all that was past, with regard to the insolence of his general, in demanding so extraordinary a power as that of raising money, and his imperious conduct in the use of it. But several of the great men about the king's person, some from a knowledge of NADIR's boundless ambition, and others from private resentment, were so desirous of seeing him humbled, that they could not keep their own council. They discovered their opinion and designs to those, who were secretly in the interest of the general. Of all these intrigues and private commotions, the general was made acquainted; also of the conduct of some, who spoke disrespectfully of the king himself. He was therefore the better qualified how to act his part, when he should return to court.

He had employed the end of the last year, and the beginning of this, chiefly in levying men, and disciplining his army; which now amounted to near 70,000 men, the greatest part of them TARTARS. The particular regard he had for the province of KHORASAN, engaged his attention in every instance that could promote the welfare and security of it; and as a natural effect of his power, as well as to strengthen his interest in that country, he gave the government of the province to his son RIZA KOULI. And tho' this step was presumed to be with the king's approbation, yet as this province had generally been given to one of the royal blood, his conduct in this instance seemed to demonstrate a despotic authority.

Having made this disposition, he set out about the month of JUNE, making slow marches towards ISFAHAN, where he arrived in AUGUST. The people, as well as the king and his court, seemed to dread his approach. All persons of discernment saw that he could mount no higher, without seizing the diadem. The king himself hardly dared to name any persons to fill up the first employments of the empire, without the consent of his general. TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN ever took occasion to

1732. represent the necessity of supporting a great army, and that the national revenues ought to be appropriated to that purpose, prior to any of those large salaries, which he pretended were unnecessarily annexed to the great offices of the crown. Indeed he was the spirit that animated the whole army; he entered so intirely into the business of it, that hardly the meanest common soldier committed any offence, deserted, or died, but he was immediately acquainted; and the great strength of his memory enabled him to act in every circumstance of the military œconomy.

TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN was now to shew a master-piece of policy. Directed by those principles which had been instrumental to his advancement to his present height of power, he was if possible to make the SHAH subscribe to his own ruin. As soon as he arrived near ISFAHAN, and encamped his army, he waited on the king to inform him in what manner he had been employed; and how much he had his majesty's interest at heart. He represented at the same time, that his majesty had been very ill advised with regard to the peace he had lately concluded with the TURKS, since he was morally certain, that the army under his command, if they might be permitted, would soon drive the TURKS to their antient confines, and perhaps make the grand signior tremble in his capital, so that those ministers, who had advised his majesty to this step, were certainly no friends to their country, and could not have the glory of their sovereign at heart, adding, he had too much reason to believe, that such men were his own enemies also; and that he was informed some of them had gone so far, as to advise his majesty to imbrue his hands in the blood of that man, whom he had been pleased so highly to honour, whose services he had so often acknowledged; and whose only happiness it was to devote his life to his service.

The SHAH, who had for some time dissembled his resentment, was now inclined to believe that his general had been misrepresented to him. The KHAN, who watched every motion of his heart, found it a proper season to regain his master's good opinion. The SHAH denied that any person had recommended him to deprive his general of his life. KOULI KHAN, in very tender passionate terms then represented to him, how much his

his majesty was a prey to evil counsellors; and as the treacherous courtiers of his father, by their intrigues would have cut off LUTF ALI KHAN, at the very time that the army under his command might have saved the empire; so they were now playing off the same diabolical engines to ruin his majesty. He then produced the letters already mentioned, which he had received from several persons at court, whilst he was in KHORASAN; and begged his majesty would be pleased to read them, and judge from thence of the fidelity of his ministers. After this, assuring the king of his own readiness to devote his life to his service, he retired.

TÆHMAS SHAH having read the letters, of which it is probable some were real, was astonished to see the perfidy of several of those in whom he had placed a confidence. But as this treasonable correspondence seemed rather to argue a contempt of his person, than a design against his life or crown; the gentleness of his mind naturally disposed him to forgiveness, at least to dissemble his resentment for the present.

C H A P. IX.

KOULI KHAN seizes SHAH TÆHMAS. *The infant ABAS elected king. Intrigues of KOULI KHAN. TÆHMAS SHAH removed to SEBSAWAR. The two sons of KOULI KHAN nominated to the principal governments. His manifesto disclaiming the peace with the TURKS. TOPAL OSMAN BASHA appointed SERASKIER of the TURKISH army. KOULI KHAN marches to BAGDAT.*

THE distractions of the preceding years seemed to have banished all sentiments of virtue from the hearts of the PERSIANS; insomuch, that the unfortunate SHAH TÆHMAS had really no friends, or none who were men of abilities. The only persons who had been about him since his restoration, remarkable for their honour and capacity, were MYRZA DAUDAM, a GEORGIAN prince, who had been married to one of his sisters in his father's time; and SEFFIE KOULI KHAN; the first of these was killed in the late action at ERIVAN, and the latter being taken prisoner,

1723. soner, fell a sacrifice to the resentment of the TURKS, as already related. It is probable, that the general aimed at the destruction of those, whom he apprehended would be the greatest bar to his ambition. Whether he meant to procure their removal, or only to gain the confidence of his master, that he might the more easily get him into his possession, is not material; this conclusion we may draw from the SHAH's passive conduct, that it probably encouraged KOULI KHAN to proceed farther than he at first intended.

It is certain, however, when he discovered that the letters produced no effect with regard to the persons whom he desired to destroy, he naturally concluded that he was himself marked out for destruction; for he could not be ignorant in what degree his conduct had rendered him obnoxious. He acquainted the chiefs of his army with his apprehensions, and possessed them with an opinion, that their interest and safety were inseparably connected with his own. The sentiments which they had previously entertained of the king and his court, together with the late peace concluded with the TURKS, confirmed them in an opinion, that the king had resolved to disband the army, and to call the general and his adherents to a severe account. TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN artfully insinuated, that there was an expedient by which they could not only preserve themselves, but also save their country from the consequences of this ruinous peace.

He then communicated the project he had formed, of deposing TÆHMAS, and putting that prince's son, ABAS MYRZA, an infant of six months, in his place; and since there was no other method, he would, with their approbation, enter immediately on this important business, the conduct of which they might leave to him. The matter being thus agreed, under an engagement of the most inviolable secrecy; the next step was how to prevail on the SHAH to leave the city, and afford him a fair opportunity of securing his person.

Whatever designs the SHAH might have, he dissembled them for the present, without seeming to be suspicious; and tho' he had destroyed the treasonable letters, yet they made such an impression on him, that he

thought the general at least as faithful as his other courtiers; and therefore made no scruple to accept an invitation to see his army in review. The evolutions and appearance of his soldiers gave him great satisfaction, and might have afforded him a fair opportunity of removing the general. The sight of their prince naturally drew the attention of the subalterns and common soldiers: as he rode through the ranks, many of them declared aloud, "That if he had any particular command they were ready to execute it." The boldest traitor, whilst a plot is ripening for execution, must feel some tremors, when there is any ground to think his treason is discovered. The general, in whose hearing this declaration was made, was at first surprized; but recovering himself, he desired the SHAH to tell them, "That as the command of the army was given to him, the proof of their obedience to their sovereign was to obey their general."

After the review was over, the KHAN invited the SHAH to a repast. This crafty, AFSHAR, as if he had learnt from that master of treachery MIR VAIS, how to carry his treason into execution*, though his purpose was not bloody, had prepared this snare to entangle his sovereign. Whether fatigue or the infusion of a drug helped to overpower the king; a small quantity of wine intoxicated him. Under these circumstances, this unhappy prince was an object of the derision of the general's creatures, and in this condition he ordered him to be removed to an apartment in the gardens of HAZARJERIB, there to be kept under a strong guard. The king's attendants, who insisted on the right of taking charge of his majesty's person, were seized by the guards, and put under confinement.

TÄHMAS KOULI KHAN having corrupted the great officers of state, as well as his own generals, called an assembly the next day, which he harangued to this effect: "All the world knows how much I have the interest of my country at heart, and how prodigal I have been of my life to advance the welfare of it. We have seen, by the late reign, the fatal consequences which attend a weak and pusillanimous conduct: and shall we be idle spectators of our own ruin? SHAH TÄHMAS has al-

ready

1732. “ ready given us a proof of his incapacity to govern. Could a prince, inspired with a common resolution, or in any degree sensible of the interest of his subjects, have made so scandalous a peace with the TURKS: a people, who have adopted it as a principle of their politics, as well as religion, to pillage and lay waste this country? There is no king but he, who being worthy of a crown wears it with dignity; let us hasten to dethrone a prince, whose weakness and cowardice will soon plunge us into those misfortunes, out of which we are but just recovered. We have in his son an heir of the true line, who under the conduct of wise tutors will learn the art of government. In the mean while the kingdom may be ruled by a regency, who have the honour and interest of their country at heart.”

This discourse met with all the applause from those who were intirely his creatures, which his most sanguine expectations could suggest: he then demanded of the assembly, what should be done further with the king; this question alarmed them a little, fearing a design of putting him to death, which they would hardly have been wicked enough to consent to. They made answer, that nothing more was necessary to be done, however, upon maturer deliberation, to prevent the disorders which might arise from his being near ISFAHAN, it was agreed, that he should be removed to some remote part in the eastern provinces of the empire; and he was accordingly sent to SEBSAWAR*, under a strong convoy of OUSBEGS and AFGHANS of the SUNNI religion.

The next debate turned upon his successor. As they set out on pretended principles of equity, and the general himself had declared, he meant to preserve the diadem to the royal line in the person of the young ABAS, it could hardly be expected, even in this corrupt assembly, there should be a single person who dared to propose any other than the infant prince. Some of the most abandoned however, declared there was none so proper as the general himself, as the circumstances of the state required a prince, who was capable of conducting an army. The KHAN rebuked them with an air of indignation; alledging, that the hereditary

* A city in AHOORASAN.

hereditary rights of princes were sacred, so long as they took no step to injure the people whom they govern. He was indeed already possessed of an unlimited power, and might have embraced so favourable a conjuncture to grasp at the crown; but he could not be ignorant, that such an attempt would be attended with some danger. There must have been great numbers in his army, who were not yet entirely devoted to his service; nor could the reputation of his exploits have so firmly established his character, as to countenance so daring an attempt. We cannot say that his ambition yielded to his policy, but that he seasoned both with patience, till his army should be more accustomed to his authority, and receive more demonstrative proofs of his abilities.

The apprehensions of an insurrection had induced the general to cause a proclamation to be made in the city, that no persons should stir out of their houses; but as soon as he discovered that the neighbourhood of the army kept the people in sufficient awe, and that the unfortunate TÆHMAS had no adherents who dared to oppose his pleasure, he revoked those orders, and business went on as usual. Preparations were now made for the inauguration of the young prince ABAS. TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN entered ISFAHAN with great pomp, and going directly to the palace, caused public notice to be given, that the KHAN and the great officers of the crown had declared SHAH TÆHMAS incapable of holding the reins of government; and therefore they had chosen his son ABAS, the third of that name, emperor of PERSIA.

The young infant was accordingly brought out in his cradle, and the diadem fixed to the right side of his head, as a mark of his sovereignty; the general himself first took the oath of allegiance on the khoran, and prostrated himself in homage to the new king; all the other great officers followed his example.

KOULI KHAN and his creatures now gave the law, not so much in form of a regency, as in consequence of their offices. He had acquired the ascendancy, and was in fact the sovereign. Orders were sent to all the provinces, to notify the accession of ABAS III. to the throne;

1732, and such officers were appointed for the respective governments, as suited the pleasure and interest of the general. He then celebrated his nuptials with the aunt of the dethroned SHAH. His eldest son, RIZA KOULI, we have observed, was appointed governor of KHORASAN; and his second son, NEZR ALI, was now made governor of HERAT. His elder brother IBRAHIM, one of the followers of his fortunes, was made a KHAN, and the government of TAVRIS was assigned him. KHERMAN was conferred on his next brother. Besides these, many other dispositions of the like nature were made, and the several offices of most importance were given to persons devoted to his interest. He then consulted for the further advancement of his own fortune, and the gratification of his passion for military glory. All these events passed in the month of AUGUST.

Thus did this great wicked man, under the specious pretence of promoting the honour and interest of his country, prepare the way to ascend the giddy heights of his ambition. He seemed already to look down on these instruments of his pride, as wretches who were assiduous in forging their own chains.

The activity of his genius suffered not a moment to be lost. In order to give the greater sanction to his conduct, upon the principles of national love, he published a manifesto, disclaiming the peace which had been lately made with the TURKS. It was in a more particular manner addressed to the BASHA of BAGDAT, and conceived in these terms: "Be it known to you, the BASHA of BAGDAT, that we claim an indubitable right of visiting the tombs of the IMAMS, ALI, GHERBELLAI, MAHALLADE, MOUZA, and HUSSEIN. We demand the delivery of all the PERSIANS who have been taken prisoners in the late war: and as the blood of our countrymen yet smokes, and calls upon their sovereign for vengeance, there ought to be so much shed of the subjects of the grand signior, as these have spilt of the subjects of the king of PERSIA. We make these our sentiments known, that you may not accuse us of the dishonour of taking you by surprize. We are going soon

These are prophets who are held in veneration by the PERSIANS, and whose tombs are near BAGDAT.

“ soon at the head of our victorious army to breathe the sweet air of the
 “ plains of BAGDAT, and to take our repose under the shadow of its
 “ walls.” 1732.

ACHMED, BASHA of BAGDAT, immediately acquainted the OTTOMAN court of the extraordinary menace which had been sent him. The TURKS being thus alarmed, the grand vizir and the musti were disgraced, as having been the chief advisers in making a peace with the PERSIANS, at a time when the OTTOMAN armies were victorious. On the 6th of OCTOBER, the horse's tail, which is the signal of war, was hung out at the seraglio at CONSTANTINOPLE; and the divan declared war against the PERSIANS with the ordinary solemnities. Orders were also sent to equip a fleet of ships on the BLACK SEA, to transport a large body of Janissaries and Spahis to TREBISONDE, together with all kind of ammunition for the security of the strong places in GEORGIA. The DASHAS of NATOLIA and EGYPT were ordered to send their quotas of men to the succour of BAGDAT. At the same time, ACHMED BASHA put himself in a condition of holding out a long siege.

In the beginning of MARCH this year, TOPAL OSMAN, late vizir, and 1733.
 now BASHA of TREBISONDE, was appointed generalissimo of the OTTOMAN army, which consisted of near 80,000 men. Tho' the caprice of the TURKS had rendered it necessary to deprive him of his office of vizir, his great valour and integrity, joined to a large experience, gave him the highest place in the esteem of his master the grand signior; and the great share he had in recommending the late pacific treaty with the PERSIANS, created in him a quicker resentment of their violation of that treaty.

The grand signior acquainted the EUROPEAN courts of the cause of his military preparations, in consequence of the usurpation of TEHMAS KOULI KHAN, under pretence of electing the infant-king ABAS. The PERSIAN general affected great unconcern at the menaces and preparations of the TURKS; for tho' he knew they could send large armies into the field, yet he scrupled not to declare, that the fortune of war did not so

1733. much depend on numbers, as on the valour and experience of soldiers. He thought it his interest however to cultivate a good understanding with the RUSSIANS, and sent an ambassador to acquaint them of the accession of ABAS the III. to the throne of the PERSIAN empire. The court of ST. PETERSBURG received this ambassador with all the honour due to ministers of his rank; and tho' the deposing of SHAH TÆHMAS was in itself a circumstance ungrateful to them, yet the natural interest of RUSSIA could not but render it agreeable, to find that the TURKS were threatened to be humbled by the victorious troops of TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN.

In the mean time, the PERSIAN general having collected all his forces from the eastern provinces, and engaged also a body of ARABIANS, the plains of HAMADAN were appointed for a general rendezvous. The army consisted of near 80,000 fighting men; and as the fortune of KOULI KHAN, and the bravery of his men promised some remarkable success, the provinces sent in their respective quotas of troops with great alacrity. Of the grandees of the court of ISFAHAN, some through hope of promotion, and others through fear of the resentment of KOULI KHAN, were induced to accompany him in this war, which answered a double purpose to him, as it prevented their caballing in his absence, and by means of their influence in their respective provinces, put him in a better capacity of carrying on the war with vigour.

TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN at the head of this formidable army, began his march from ISFAHAN in the month of FEBRUARY, directing his course towards HAMADAN. As soon as he arrived on the plains near that city, he made a general review of his forces, and encouraged his men by assuring them, that he did not doubt before it was long, he should fix his standards on the ramparts of CONSTANTINOPLE.

The first operation of the campaign was the siege of KERMANSHAH. SHAH TÆHMAS had certainly erred in his politics, in yielding up this place to the TURKS, as its vicinity to PERSIA must necessarily have occasioned great jealousies between the subjects, as well as the governments of both

* This is a great city, which DE LITTLE's map includes in IRAK AGAMI, but it is generally understood to be in AOUADESTAN.

both countries. A great part of the inhabitants were PERSIANS, so that 1733
TÆMAS KOULI KHAN was hardly arrived there with his whole army, when
the inhabitants opened their gates to him. The unfortunate governor was
put to death, in return for the violence on SEFFIE KOULI KHAN at CON-
STANTINOPLE; this execution was performed in the sight of the whole
army. Several other TURKS had the same fate^d. After appointing ABDAL
BAKI KHAN as governor, and leaving a garrison of his own people in this
city, TÆMAS KOULI KHAN began his march towards BAGDAT. This
was the favourite object he had in view: he knew that ACHMED, BASHA
of that city and its dependencies, had made the necessary preparations for
its defence; but he flattered himself, that by taking the field so much
earlier than the TURKS could collect an army to oppose him, he should
bring the BASHA to a submission.^d

The TURKS had the precaution to send detachments of their forces to
guard the defiles on the PERSIAN side, which cover the plains towards the
frontiers of BAGDAT. These however were easily forced; the TURKS
having neither skill, courage, nor numbers to stop the progress of the
PERSIAN army. Traversing the great forest between the cities MENDLI
and NEZERETH, he passed the river SYNMLE, on the banks of which the
TURKS had in vain erected several batteries. Then coming into the plains
of BAGDAT, he crossed the river KENTOUL, which is a branch of the
TIGRIS, and after a march of twenty days, he arrived the 10th of APRIL
under the walls of BAGDAT.

^d I cannot help remarking, how fond some writers of historical accounts of PERSIA are of shed-
ding blood: if a ty number of persons are put to death, they make whole cities massacred. Again, if
an army consists of 50,000 men, they mention them as 100,000, but this last error seems to arise
from the numerous followers of the camp.

CHAP. X.

Description of BAGDAT. This city is besieged. The conduct of KOULI KHAN. The vigilance of ACHMED BASHA. Stratagem of TOPAL OSMAN. The PERSIAN army defeated with great slaughter. Letter of ACHMED BASHA to the grand signior. Great rejoicings at the OTTOMAN court for the victory over the PERSIANS. TOPAL OSMAN sends his army into quarters.

1733. **B**EFORE we enter upon any circumstance relating to the siege of BAGDAT, it may afford some light to the subject, to give a short account of this famous city, in the neighbourhood of which formerly stood the metropolis * of one of the most antient and most potent monarchies in the world. The place is generally called BAGDAT or BAGDAD, tho' some writers preserve the antient name of BABYLON. The reason of thus confounding these two cities is, that the TIGRIS and EUPHRATES forming one common stream before they disemboque into the PERSIAN gulph, are not unfrequently mentioned as one and the same river. It is certain that the present BAGDAT is situated on the TIGRIS †, but the antient BABYLON, according to all historians sacred and prophane, was on the EUPHRATES. The ruins of the latter, which geographical writers place about fifteen leagues to the south of BAGDAT, are now so much effaced, that there are hardly any vestiges of them to point out the situation. In the time of the emperor THEODOSIUS there was only a great park remaining, in which the kings of PERSIA bred wild beasts for the amusement of hunting.

BAGDAT,

* BABYLON, the seat of the kings of ASSYRIA called DINGELIE by the TURKS and PERSIANS, are reckoned extremely wholesome, and not less agreeable to the taste. This river issues with a great noise from a cavern to the north of the city DIARBEKIR, near which there is a very good stone bridge over it. Before it reaches this place it takes in several other rivers, and running to the eastward is augmented by the MEINI, FERDIL, ZICHERI, and others which come from the east. After passing BAGDAT it receives a great increase from the DIALA, and meets the EUPHRATES not far from DORNASIR. Near VASIT it divides into many branches, and forms several islands, called the islands of the ARABIAN river. At CORNA it again joins the EUPHRATES, and disemboques itself into the PERSIAN gulph below BASSORA, its whole course being computed 400 leagues.

† The waters of this river, which is

BAGDAT, formerly the seat of the ABBASSINEAN CALIPHS, is the capital of IRAC-ARABI. This country is reckoned 120 leagues long and 80 broad, though great part of it is very poorly inhabited. It includes several districts, and is one of the most important governments in the OTTOMAN empire. The city is situated on the east side of the TIGRIS, on the banks of which it extends about two miles. It was built on the ruins of the antient SELEUCIA, near the year 760. The government of the CALIPHS being extinct, the city was united to the kingdom of PERSIA about the year 1250, but was taken by AMURATH the IVth in 1638, and has remained under the dominion of the OTTOMAN empire, notwithstanding the repeated efforts of the PERSIAN monarchs to recover it. 1733.

The fortification is composed of lofty thick walls of brick, covered with earth, strengthened by great towers in form of bastions placed at certain distances, and protected by a deep ditch, which can be filled at any time by the waters of the TIGRIS. The citadel is on the north side, and commands the river. The whole fortification is furnished with near 200 pieces of cannon*. The garrison generally consists of a body of ten thousand men, and in time of war more than twice that number, besides the ordinary militia, which is 12,000 men. From hence it is easy to conceive, that under an experienced commander this place could hardly be taken by an eastern army, any otherwise than by famine. Its happy situation on the TIGRIS is an advantage which enables it, upon the apprehension of an enemy, to lay in a large supply of provisions.

The suburbs being very extensive, and raised on both sides of the TIGRIS, there is a communication by a bridge of boats, the only one which that river will admit of, as it is broad and deep, and in its ordinary course very rapid. At certain seasons it swells to a prodigious height, and overflowing the country, occasions many morasses on the side opposite to the city. Among these are several towns and villages, whose inhabitants are said to be the antient CALDEANS. These people are of a particular religion,

* These were formerly only six pounders, but of late some of them have been exchanged for heavier.

1733. gion, which they pretend is that of **SETH**: there are also a great number of **ARABS** in this neighbourhood, who render travelling dangerous. The advantage of the **TIGRIS** is so considerable with regard to commerce, that altho' the climate is excessive hot, and in other respects far from being agreeable, yet there are a great number of inhabitants in this city. The greatest part of these are **PERSIANS**, **ARMENIANS**, and **JEWS**. The two last occupy near half the city, and drive a considerable trade with **BASSORA**^h, and the inland parts. The **JEWS** are the more engaged to live here, from a reverence to the sepulchre of the prophet **EZEKIEL**, which it is pretended is a day's journey from the city.

TÆHMAS KOU LI KHAN having found means to corrupt some of the inhabitants of this important city, made his advances with great confidence. However, he was in want of artillery, and of course in no capacity to make regular approaches, had he possessed the skill of an **EUROPEAN** general. His great business was to invest the city, and force the inhabitants to a submission by famine, or subdue them by stratagem. **MYRZA KHAN**, an officer of great valour and experience, who had been an early follower of the fortunes of **KOU LI KHAN**, was sent with 10,000 men a league up the **TIGRIS**, and passed the river near the suburbs of **KOUCH KALESSI**ⁱ. This detachment executed their business without any considerable loss: after pillaging the town, they fixed their camp in that neighbourhood^k. Here they found a piece of cannon of a very great size, which the **BASHA**, notwithstanding his great circumspection, had neglected to bring away, or render useless. But this was the only battering cannon in the **PERSIAN**^l army, and was by no means sufficient to make a breach, tho' it was used with some success, and helped to intimidate the inhabitants.

BAGDAT,

^h They have covered vessels called **TÆVES**, in which they bring the produce of **INDIA** and other countries up the **TIGRIS**. There are also others call'd **DANEKS** and **GURABS**.

ⁱ Signifies in **ARABIC** the bird tower. ^k It is reported that the waters of the **TIGRIS** soon after swell'd to a great degree, and cut off all communication from the main body of the **PERSIAN** army that the **TURKS** took the opportunity to attack this officer, who maintained his ground very gallantly. but being overpowered by numbers was obliged to retreat after a considerable loss. And that this circumstance, in a great measure, contributed to the defeat of the **PERSIAN** general some time after. But what **TURKS** these were who defeated him is not said, unless it was after the battle of **KERKOU**, and as **TOPAL OSMAN**, as well as **ACHMED BASHA**, are fixed on this head, I must leave **MYRZA KHAN** to be disposed of as the reader pleases.

BAGDAT was now closely blocked up on both sides the TIGRIS, by an army of 80,000 men, so that neither troops, ammunition, nor provisions could be thrown into the town. The TURKISH garrison within the walls consisted of about 20,000 men, besides the militia. They laboured however under the great inconveniency of having a number of PERSIAN inhabitants, some of whom might be supposed in the interest of the PERSIAN general; so that ACHMED had his attention divided both within and without the walls. But in order to prevent any evil consequence from hence, tho' the majority were much more disposed to live under the TURKISH government than the PERSIAN; he caused some of the principal among them to take up their lodging in the citadel, as hostages for the good behaviour of their countrymen. TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN having thus cantoned his army, and blockaded the city, expected to oblige ACHMED BASHA to a surrender by famine: nor could he well have failed, if his vanity had not got the better of his prudence.

TOPAL OSMAN BASHA, though an able and experienced officer, and zealous in the last degree for the glory of his master, and the welfare of his country; would hardly have been able to relieve BAGDAT, and prevent its being dismembered from the OTTOMAN empire, had the PERSIAN general been less confident of his success. When this BASHA was appointed SERASKIER¹ of the OTTOMAN army, his credit at the port was very great; yet the succours and reinforcements of money, troops, and ammunition, which were promised him, were sent only in small proportions, and in a very irregular manner; so that he was unavoidably obliged to remain several months in a state of inaction.

During this interval, TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN, already anticipating his triumphs in imagination, wrote to the BASHA of MOSUL, summoning him to surrender, adding words to this effect: "I am informed that a certain
" TURKISH general, whose slow advances give me no great idea of his
" courage,

¹ General in chief

² Messages of defiance have been long disused among EUROPEAN generals, nor would I have inserted these, but to give some idea of the character of TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN.

1733. "courage, has been a long time in march, intending to oppose my conquest. Let him know, that I desire he will make more speed; and, in order to shorten his way, I will meet him with part of my forces, which are sufficient to make him repent of his rashness. I will not only take his little army, but himself also as a child in his BECHIK.*" TOPAL OSMAN being informed of this message, replied: "The grand signior my master has armies as numerous as the sands of the seas, and many chiefs to conduct his forces; but he has chosen my feeble arm, with only a small army, to confound thy pride. It is true, I am lame, old, and sickly, but I hope by the assistance of the Almighty, that thou wilt meet the fate of NIMROD†."

In order to facilitate the junction of his troops, as well as to advance nearer BAGDAT, TOPAL OSMAN decamped from DIARBEKIR, and marched along the banks of the TIGRIS; he passed this river at MOSUL, and continued his march towards CHERCHESENE. This province is subject to the OTTOMAN empire, and had been laid waste by the PERSIANS. He then directed his course to KERKOUDE‡, a city forty leagues distant from MOSUL, where the BASHA of the province resides. He had several considerable branches of the TIGRIS to pass, besides the rivers HAZIR, JARB, and ALTUN; over some of these he was obliged to transport his troops on floats, which retarded his march; whilst this army was forming, by the several detachments and small parties which joined him from different parts. In this situation, if KOULI KHAN had put himself at the head of a body of his best troops, and at the same time left a sufficient number, which he could have done, to stop the communications to BAGDAT, in all probability he might have rendered the utmost efforts of the SERASKIER ineffectual. But his vanity betrayed him: elate with his successes, which

hitherto

* This word signifies cradle and litter, TOPAL OSMAN on account of his infirmities being obliged to use the latter.

† TOPAL in the TURKISH language signifies lame, and was an appellation given to OSMAN, according to the custom in TURKEY, in consequence of a wound he received, which really lamed him, the circumstances of which I shall relate hereafter.

‡ The TURKS have a fabulous tradition, that the pride of NIMROD, who equalled himself with GOD, was chastised by a singular providence, in a fly creeping up his nose to his brain, with which he died in excessive pain, and the BASHA here expresses himself with humility, by way of contrast to the insolence of KOULI KHAN.

§ This place is also called CHERAZOUR, and is generally esteemed the capital of KOURDISTAN.

hitherto had met with no interruption; he affected to treat the TURKS as enemies not in the least formidable. 1733.

While the TURKISH army was forming, KOULI KHAN erected two forts about two leagues from BAGDAT, one on each side of the TYGRIS, which communicated by a bridge of boats. He then caused a great number of houses to be built upon the banks of the river: in some of these the principal officers resided; and lodged their wives and household: others were occupied by part of the soldiery, or used by sutlers and artificers, with shops well supplied. The same abundance seemed to reign here, as in the richest city in the heart of PERSIA.

It is probable, that KOULI KHAN was actuated by motives of policy, in building these houses; for on the one hand, this was likely to excite his troops to the greater bravery, in order to save their effects from being plundered, and their wives and children from captivity; and, on the other, the TURKISH garrison might be driven to despair, by seeing the enemy build a city under their walls. However, it is certain, by such methods, and by his threatening summons, the inhabitants were intimidated to a very great degree. He let them know continually, that they should have quarter and good usage, if they surrendered; adding, that TOPAL OSMAN was absolutely unable to relieve them; and, if they obliged him to give an assault, he would make a general massacre, or sell into slavery all who should escape the sword. The extreme necessity the town laboured under occasioned such murmurings, that it required all the address of ACHMED BASHA to prevent an insurrection. He was therefore obliged to punish some, and to soothe others; feigning false expresses from TOPAL OSMAN, that he was in full march, and just on the point of relieving them.

The inhabitants were likewise intimidated by the stratagems of KOULI KHAN, who often sent from his camp in the night detached parties of several thousands, both horse and foot, with orders to make a long round, and enter the camp another way, with colours flying, as if they were fresh reinforcements. To insult the misery of the inhabitants, as if he

1733. knew their distress, he sent ACHMED BASHA a present of some carts load of water melons, desiring him to divert his hunger. ACHMED returned his compliments, and sent a handsome present of the best bread; observing, that with such he made a shift to gratify his own hunger, and that of the citizens. Indeed the BASHA played his part so well, that KOULI KHAN was really ignorant to what an extremity the city was reduced. The vigilance and abilities of the governor, had hitherto defeated the arts of the PERSIAN general; but matters were at last brought to such an extremity, after being blocked up three months, that no kind of necessities could have been procured for four days longer; so that the town must have inevitably fallen into the hands of a cruel and enraged enemy.

TOPAL OSMAN, having now increased his army to near 80,000, in his march to KERKOUH had taken two PERSIAN prisoners. He ordered them to be brought before him, treated them civilly, and enquired if they were well acquainted with the by-roads and private ways to BAGDAT. Upon their answering in the affirmative, he told them, that as upon that account they were much fitter for his purpose than any of his own people, who would certainly be taken; if they would undertake so bold an action, and deliver a letter into the hands of ACHMED BASHA, the governor of BAGDAT, he would give each of them a thousand sequins before they set out; and that they might expect greater rewards if they proved faithful, as the letter was of the greatest consequence. However he demanded of them to swear fidelity to him, to which they consented. The letter was to this effect: "As I have not yet been joined by all the troops I expect, I am obliged to march very slowly, in order to give the rest time to come up, before I am too near to TAEHMAS KOULI KHAN, against whom I am not yet able to make head; therefore I desire you will have still some farther patience: keep yourself close within your walls, and husband, to the best advantage, what provisions and necessities are yet left."

The two PERSIANS were no honeste than he expected: they received their sequins, and hastened to the camp of KOULI KHAN, in hopes of a further reward from their own general. The letter produced all the effects
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the SERASKIER could desire. The expectations of TÄHMAS KOULI KHAN swelled to the highest degree; and in the triumph of his imagination he looked upon the SERASKIER as already vanquished. 1733

By the first motions of TOPAL OSMAN's army towards KERKOUND, it seemed as if he had intended to go directly to BAGDAT; but as he must have been obliged to pass thro' a barren desert, where the troops would have suffered greatly, he returned to the ALLAN, where that river discharges itself into the TIGRIS: the army then marched by the mountain of GEOBAR along the TIGRIS, till they came to DULJEILUCK, about twelve leagues from BAGDAT.

TÄHMAS KOULI KHAN having advice of the march of the TURKS, detached thirty thousand men, mostly cavalry, hoping that the enemy, by the favour of the night, as they were pitching their tents, or decamping, might be surprized. The general of the detachment having taken two TURKISH prisoners, who reported that TOPAL OSMAN had an army of above 100,000 men; this determined him to acquaint KOULI KHAN of his information; and that not being willing to venture against a force said to be so powerful, he waited his orders. KOULI KHAN, upon this, immediately marched at the head of his forces, which were near 70,000, leaving a considerable body of his men* before BAGDAT.

The TURKISH army decamped the evening of the 18th of JULY, and marched towards KERKOUND, near which the SERASKIER proposed to encamp. About sun-rising, the advanced guard of the TURKISH army, commanded by BOULAD ACHMED, BASHA of ADENE, met a detachment of the PERSIANS, and a skirmish ensued. Had the SERASKIER been disposed to act on the defensive, the antient bed of the TIGRIS was before him, which formed a deep fosse, but he chose to favour the spirit of his troops: and tho' it was attended with some difficulty, he passed this ditch with his army and artillery. Having reached the plain, he ranged his forces in battalia, in the form of a crescent, dividing them into five different

* Called also DUCKURU, This body is said to have been 10,000, and we accordingly find they were put to flight immediately when the TURKS salied out

1733. different bodies. He himself commanded the troops of ROMANIA¹ in the center; ABDALLAH AGA was at the head of the right wing with the Janissaries; the KOURDS, and other different troops, under IBRAHIM, late BASHA of CONIE, forming the left wing. MAHOMMED BASHA commanded in the rear.

TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN had hardly time to make a disposition of his forces, and his ground was full of hillocks of sand: however, he divided his men into ten different columns. As he had intended to make the attack, he was a little disconcerted in seeing the BASHA of ADENE, with the TURKISH cavalry that composed their van-guard, advance upon him with great fury, yet his presence of mind was not wanting: he animated his men, and exposed himself so greatly to danger in the heat of the action, that he had two horses killed under him.

At length the TURKISH cavalry gave way, and were pushed as far as their infantry, but these made so good a countenance, that the fury of the PERSIANS was stopped. The PERSIANS thus appearing superior, some of the TURKISH officers counselled the SERASKIER to make a retreat to his camp; to which he declared, that he would rather perish than do any thing that had the appearance of flight. He then ordered the troops of ROMANIA in the center, and the Janissaries in the right wing, to be led up against the center of the PERSIAN army, consisting of 15,000 foot, which soon gave way.

The KOURDS, and other different people, who composed the left wing of the TURKISH army, and whose chief attention was to wait an opportunity of pillage, were now induced to fall on the right wing of the PERSIANS: these maintained their ground very gallantly for some time. NADIR had taken the precaution not only to break up the ways towards MOSUL², but also to send a detachment of 3000

ARABS,

¹ These EUROPEAN TURKS are esteemed the bravest

² Near this place is a very remarkable ruin, in which is an arch, that appears to have been the frontispiece of a great temple, which the inhabitants, who deal in the marvellous, imagine to be part of NINIVEN, and that it was built by NINUS the son of BALUS, or BELUS, they shew in the neighbourhood the place where the prophet JONAS inhabited, in honour of whom they have built a little chapel, which they visit with devotion

ARABS^w, supported by as many PERSIANS, to guard the passes on that side, against the BASHA of that place, in case he should attempt to assist TOPAL OSMAN: but the BASHA advanced, and having found means to corrupt the ARABS, these not only abandoned the pass, but joining the TURKS, obliged the PERSIANS to retire; and then advancing with him, fell upon the main body of the PERSIANS in flank, whilst the whole TURKISH army were already engaged. The PERSIANS could not support the shock: TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN did all that was possible to rally them, but in vain. The standard-bearer^z, either through fear, or being closely pressed, rode off the field; and a total rout ensued.

The scene of this action being a sandy plain, and the duration of it not less than eight hours, the PERSIANS were so much fatigued, that their flight was rendered the more difficult. Clouds of dust, with the scorching heat of the weather, without a possibility of getting water, added to their distress, and exposed them the more to be slaughtered by their pursuers. Their loss upon this occasion, was not less than 30,000 men, cavalry and infantry; with all their baggage, their camels, and harquebusses. The latter did very little execution, in comparison to the TURKISH artillery.

The number of prisoners taken by the TURKS amounted to about 3000: their victory however cost them dear, for they lost near as many men as the PERSIANS. TOPAL OSMAN ascribed the glory of this day to the bravery of ABDALLAH, the KIAYA, and the Janissaries, whom he led on to action. ABDALLAH being quite spent with fatigue, fainted in the field; the good TOPAL OSMAN supported him in his arms, and when he recovered, assured him that the grand signior should be informed of his merit, and how much the victory, under God, had been owing to him, and to the bravery of the soldiers he commanded. The SERASKIER then dispatched messengers to DIARBEKIR, BAGDAT, and other govern-
ments,

devotion. their tradition concerning the prophet differs not much from that of the scripture.

^w This circumstance is not mentioned by those who are of the TURKISH interest, but is not, I believe, without foundation; because, we do not find that NADIR ever afterwards chose their perfidious alliance.

^z See Vol. I. page 243.

1733. ments, as well as to CONSTANTINOPLE, with an account of the success of the OTTOMAN arms.

In the mean while, ACHMED BASHA, with his garrison at BAGDAT, sallied out, and attacked the PERSIANS, whom KOULI KHAN had left in their entrenchments: they made a gallant defence, but were at length obliged to yield to numbers. Here the besieged found a supply of corn and other provisions, which was in the highest degree welcome to them after so much distress.

ACHMED no sooner received the joyful news of TOPAL OSMAN's signal victory, than he also dispatched a messenger to CONSTANTINOPLE, to inform his master the grand signior of the state of affairs in that great city. As this letter appears to be genuine, and gives an idea not only of the circumstances in which the TURKS were, but likewise of the ORIENTAL manner of writing, it may perhaps be acceptable.

" May God be ever praised and blessed ; for, by his grace, the commander of the sultan's armies, the ever invincible TOPAL OSMAN BASHA, on whom may the most high ever shed his bounties ; and may he find mercy before the throne of God, at the founding of the trumpet. He has delivered us from the afflictions we have suffered, since we were besieged by the PERSIAN armies. The distress of the garrison and inhabitants of this city was incredible ; and is beyond description. We were surrounded ; we were blocked up ; we were encompassed for the space of a whole league. During three long months, TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN, with a body of his troops, pitched his tents at IMAN AZEM, on the side of the TIGRIS towards PERSIA, about half a league from the city, where he fortified himself with strong lines and redoubts ; and used all means to frighten us to a surrender.

" Sometimes he detached part of his troops, without our being able to perceive it ; and ordered them to enter another quarter of his camp, with drums beating, and colours flying, and with the sound of trumpets, as if they were fresh forces coming from all quarters to his assistance.

distance. ' He built forts on each side the TIGRIS, well mounted with artillery; so that all communication was cut off. He was continually summoning us to surrender; offering good terms if we would capitulate, and threatening us with the sword and captivity if we delayed; endeavouring to excite the people to mutiny. Your slave took every method to keep up their spirits; I held assemblies of the people of war; I told them from time to time that I had advice from the invincible TOPAL OSMAN BASHA, on whom may the blessings of God descend, that he was at such a place, and would soon come and pour upon the enemy the irresistible force of the OTTOMAN arms, ever victorious, and we should soon be delivered.

" On the first day of the moon SEFER *, the vizir TOPAL OSMAN BASHA sent me an express from KERKOUDE, by which I received his high commands, letting me know that he was arrived at that place. I immediately read his letter publicly, that all the people and inhabitants might be acquainted with the news; they would hardly believe the letter to be genuine; I was obliged to shew it to every one, that they might with their own eyes view the seal and hand-writing of the great commander, and prevent their despair.

" On the fourth of * SEFER in the morning, TAFHMAS KOULI KHAN ranged his army in battle array, and marched towards VUGIUM, leaving a large body of his troops behind him to block us up. As soon as our garrison and the inhabitants of the city were informed of this, their anxiety was renewed. Sometimes they were clamorous to have the gates opened, that they might sally forth: sometimes they were determined to wait for further news: every one, men and women, young and old, continued without intermission, their hands clasped, and their eyes turned to heaven, beseeching God and his prophet to grant success to our arms.

" On the ninth ^x of SEFER, just at break of day, as we were lying in the dust, offering our prayers to God, we perceived on the side of the

* The 15th of JULY.

* The 16th of JULY.

* The 21st of JULY.

*733. “defart, and towards the gate KARANI CAPSI, an officer with twenty-five horse-men, with their sabres in their hands. They cried with a loud voice, and said, open to us the gates, for we bring good tidings to ACHMED BASHA. At first your slave believing them to be spies, doubted to give them entrance. But as the AGA who commanded them was known to several people from the walls, I caused the gate to be opened. As soon as he was entered, they began to call aloud, O inhabitants of BAGDAT forget your sorrows and rejoice, for the great and mighty commander TOPAL OSMAN BASHA, has entirely vanquished the army of the PERSIANS; he has cut in pieces 60,000 of the enemy; TAEHMAS KOULI KHAN is fled undistinguished among those whom our sabres could not reach.

“The officer then delivered to me the letter which the invincible vizir had wrote, imparting to me the news of his victory. No sooner was this spread abroad, than the whole city, seemed as people risen from the dead: they said with one common voice, let us fall upon the remains of the PERSIANS before they have time to fly. The garrison assembled with the principal inhabitants of the city, and your slave at their head, fell upon the PERSIANS; we poured in upon them like the mighty torrents, like the thunder of the waters of the Almighty; they resisted for some time, but at length gave way to our victorious arms, and fell under the edge of our sabres. All their artillery, ammunition and provisions, which were in great abundance, by the favour of the prophet came into our possession.

“A great number of people who had no horses, and others who were too old to bear arms, bowing their heads, and crossing their arms, and covering themselves with the dress of the grave, having in a most supplicant manner cried for mercy; my bowels were moved with compassion towards them, I pitied their condition, and ordered that quarter should be given them, with liberty to retire. As for those who fled over the plains, it was no longer a fight, it was a hunting in the forest,

“We may allow people to magnify their success extremely on such an occasion as this, and this happens to be double the number which the PERSIANS really lost.

" forest, a chace of the beasts of the desert. Our victorious troops cutting down every thing before them, pursued the enemy with the sword. 1733.

" The next day we returned thanks to God and his prophet: we planted on the walls the standards of the vanquished enemy, with all the other trophies of our victory. After the public rejoicings and thanksgivings were over, we buried in their tombs such of our people as had the glory to receive the crown of martyrdom. We then cut off the heads of all the enemy who were slain, we piled them in heaps on the field of battle; and threw the bodies into the TIGRIS. The day after, the great and mighty conqueror, TOPAL OSMAN BASHA, arrived with his victorious army at IMAM AZEM, the suburbs of BAGDAT, whither the people of all ranks, young and old, ran to lick the dust of his feet.

" The day following, I, your slave, accompanied by the BASHAS and great officers here, with my whole retinue, and all the principal inhabitants of BAGDAT, went with the great SERASKIER, and returned thanks in the mosque of IMAM AZEM, for the victories obtained, and for the end of our great afflictions. I send you this account, under the providence of God, by CHASSOUCAR AGA, whom may the Almighty safely conduct."

TOPAL OSMAN remained with the TURKISH army two days on the field of battle burying the dead: this victory cost very dear, not only by the death of so many common soldiers, but also by the loss of many persons of great distinction. The wounded, who were in great numbers, he sent to MOSUL. Among these he found the father-in-law and nephew of KOULI KHAN, whom he treated with great generosity, and after their wounds were dressed, he sent them to the PERSIAN general, with some propositions concerning a peace*. To the latter no reply was made, but he acknowledged his obligations to the SERASKIER for the humane treatment of his relations, and that he hoped ere long to return the obligation after the same manner.

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* Others mention their having been sent to CONSTANTINOPLE, but I believe TOPAL OSMAN sought to appease rather than to enrage KOULI KHAN.

1733: The TURKISH general no sooner received a report of the circumstances, of his own army after the battle, than he sent one of his favourite^a officers, to CONSTANTINOPLE with the news of his victory, which was received with all possible demonstrations of joy, and magnified beyond the truth. The spirit of the court however was a little damp'd, when a second messenger from the general arrived eight days afterwards, to acquaint the grand signior, that the army was in great distress for want of provisions, the country round BAGDAT having been ruined by the PERSIANS; and moreover, that tho' he had been victorious, yet his losses were so great, that he requested an immediate and large supply of recruits; that as for himself, his age and infirmities were such, that he begged his highness would give the command of the army to one more able to serve him, as the duty required all the strength of youth, as well as the experience of old age; for he foresaw that KOULI KHAN would soon return with a numerous army, when he should not be in so good a condition to receive him as before.

This news was however supposed to be in a great measure owing to the modesty of the BASHA; so that instead of making such provision as had been represented as necessary, they loaded him with new honours which he did not desire. His son-in-law was made BEGLERBEG of ROMANIA, and his son a BASHA of three tails: he had also leave to dispose of all military employments, and to distribute rewards according to the merit of his officers; and if he should think it most for the honour and safety of the empire, he might also negotiate a peace. To these great honours and signal instances of the confidence reposed in him, were added the highest commendations of his valour and conduct.

In the mean time, the court would not be persuaded, that after so signal victory there could be such a necessity of succours as the BASHA represented: the sight of the three thousand PERSIAN prisoners filled their mind so much with the idea of conquest, and a fond persuasion of the distressed condition of the PERSIAN army, that a sufficient care was not taken to answer the demands of the SERASKIER. The great distance
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^a On these occasions the TURKISH generals give their messengers a golden ornament, in form of a plume, with three points, by which means the people where he passes are to understand he is the messenger of victory or good news.

of the army, and the poverty of the state, was a farther reason why the court was so remiss, whilst their general seemed to be the only man who knew how much the strength and valour of the enemy was to be dreaded. He had accordingly made such a disposition of his troops in the neighbouring country, as was necessary to their support, with orders to assemble in the plains near BAGDAT the end of AUGUST, himself, with 30,000 men, remaining at KERKOUND.

CHAP. XI.

TEHMAS KOULI KHAN *prepares for another action: his stratagem. TOPAL OSMAN obliged to continue in his command. POULAK BASHA abandons the post of TAKAJAK. TOPAL OSMAN collects his forces, and meets the PERSIANS. Battle of LEILAM the 22d of OCTOBER. Second battle of LEILAM. TOPAL OSMAN killed, and the TURKISH army routed. ABDALLAH KOUPROLI, BASHA of CARIO, appointed generalissimo.*

TEHMAS KOULI KHAN retired with the remains of his army to HAMADAN: having been always accustomed to victory, he was the more sensibly affected by his defeat, especially as there was reason to fear that his glory was nipped, at the very time when to appearance it was ripening to its full maturity. However, as no reverse of fortune could subdue his mind, he seemed yet to triumph in the assurance of future success; and the perfect knowledge he had, how dear the enemy had purchased their victory, and that the treacherous conduct of his ARABIAN allies had been the chief cause of the disaster which befel him; he encouraged his soldiers, applauded their conduct, and commended their valour, in the same flattering terms, as if he had been himself the victor. He acknowledged the mistakes he had committed in terms the most engaging; being convinced that past misfortunes can be retrieved only by future conduct. He made his own and that of the army one common cause; and by reminding them of their valour upon so many occasions, he assured them they should have such an opportunity of revenging themselves, as should

intirely

1733. intirely efface the remembrance of an accident, for which they were no way to blame. Thus he ingratiated himself with the common soldiers, as well as the officers, in such a manner, that he kept the army in good spirits, and without the least reluctance to try their fortune in another battle.

As a proof of what he had advanced, he was hardly arrived at HAMADAN, when he wrote to ACHMED BASHA, the governor of BAGDAT, that notwithstanding his misfortunes in the last campaign, he did not in the least hold himself as vanquished; that he was sensible of the faults he had committed, and intended to mend them: and as he was determined to make war like a generous enemy, therefore he acquainted him, that he might be prepared; for that early next year he would take the field with a more numerous and powerful army than the former, and meet him once more at BAGDAT.

How ostentatious soever such a message might seem, it not only served to keep his soldiers in spirits, but also as a stratagem to deceive the TURKS; for tho' they might deem such menaces not entirely as an effect of his vanity, with regard to his intentions of returning into TURKEY, yet they did not dream that his real design was to fall on them before the winter came on. For this purpose he sent to ISFAHAN for recruits, and commanded his second son NESR ALI, the governor of HERAT, to join him with all the forces under his command. Thus he soon completed an army, very near equal to that with which he had made his late expedition into TURKEY.

ACHMED, BASHA of BAGDAT, had too much penetration to be ignorant of the genius of the PERSIAN general, and too good intelligence to doubt of his intentions of returning into TURKEY; but whether that should happen sooner or later, he took all possible care to put the city in a state of defence, and to bring a supply of provisions by means of the TIGRIS, which he could not collect near his own district, the province for many leagues round BAGDAT having been laid waste.

TOPAL OSMAN on his part was still in want of ammunition and other necessaries for his army, and in no condition to act offensively against

PERSIA : he therefore contented himself with sending POULAK BASHA, with six thousand men, to take possession of the pass of TAKAJAK, which is the entrance into TURKEY on the side of HAMADAN. 1733.

Affairs were in this situation, when advice arrived at KERKOU, that the son of TÄHMÄS KÖULI KHAN was upon his march to the assistance of his father, with a large body of AFGHANS and ABDOLLEES. The SERASKIER dispatched a courier to the port with this intelligence, representing to the ministers, as he had often done before, the necessity there was of sending large supplies of men, money, and ammunition to the army intended to act against KOULI KHAN. He earnestly requested at the same time, that in consideration of his age and infirmities, they would allow him to resign the command of the army in favour of ACHMED BASHA, who in all respects was fitter than himself to discharge the duties of such an important trust.

The grand signior, in consideration of his request, and his great services, had actually determined to comply with his desire, and appointed him BASHA of CUTAYA*, and BEGLERBEG of NATOLIA. The disposition for these changes was already made, when a fresh courier arrived at the seraglio from TOPAL OSMAN, with advice that the PERSIANS had forced the pass of TAKAJAK, and that their general was in full march at the head of a mighty army; requesting that they would immediately order the succours, which he had so often and so warmly solicited.

An extraordinary divan was held upon this subject; the disposition of those changes just mentioned was suspended, and TOPAL OSMAN ordered to continue in his command of the army.

POULAK BASHA had been sent by the SERASKIER with 6000 men, to post himself at TAKAJAK, which is the pass on the frontiers of TURKEY. Accordingly he took possession of it with his troops. On the 12th of OCTOBER, KOULI KHAN'S AFGHANS advanced towards him : the BASHA having neglected to fortify his post, or struck with a panic, retired with his men, and abandoned this important pass to the enemy. The SERASKIER was filled with such indignation and resentment, that he would have ordered his

* This is a district about three days journey from CONSTANTINOPLE.

1733. his head to be struck off in the field, notwithstanding he had behaved gallantly in the battle of KERKOUND, if several of the most distinguished officers, who were in great esteem with him, had not begged his life.

TOPAL OSMAN now found himself in a very dangerous situation; a fierce and formidable enemy was advancing on him, whilst the succours he had solicited from the port, he knew by experience, were not to be depended on: the BASHA of SYRIA was his particular friend, and exerted himself in collecting all the forces possible; but these were not sufficient. SYRIA was once a powerful kingdom, and could of itself send large armies into the field; but since it has been under the dominion of the TURKS, it is so far ruined, that the BASHA could hardly collect 12000 infantry, with a small body of horse; neither of which had any reputation as soldiers. The SERASKIER had also collected several bodies of forces from MOSUL^f, tho' the inhabitants had been so terrified at the approach of a PERSIAN army, that numbers were disposed to flight, till they found themselves surrounded by roving ARABS, and other enemies; they resolved therefore to assist in the common cause of their country, and endeavour to withstand the torrent of the PERSIAN arms. In the mean while, the garrison of DIARBEKIR was also sent to join TOPAL OSMAN, and some tribes of the ARABIANS, who had been of such service in the affair of KERKOUND.

The SERASKIER, in order to facilitate the junction of his forces, marched to the plains of ARONIA, near the city MENDEL, where he mustered near 100,000 men; happy for the TURKS if they had been all equal in discipline and valour to the PERSIAN troops. Here the prudent TOPAL OSMAN entrenched his army in an advantageous situation, to prevent a surprise, and enable him to act as circumstances might require.

THOMAS KOULI KHAN being informed of the situation of the TURKS, marched directly towards them, and arrived within sight of their army
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^f This is a great city sixty leagues above BAGDAD, and forty below DIARBEKIR, on the western banks of the EUPHRATES, it is near the ancient NINEVEH, which at present is but a heap of undistinguished ruins.

the 21st of OCTOBER. ' In the mean while, he ordered a detachment to 1733.
' make a circuit by the forest of NEZERETH, and by passing the TIGRIS
intercept a rich caravan going for SMYRNA and ALEPPO, and then to join
him near the plains of ARONIA, which they performed *. (

On the 22d of OCTOBER, TOPAL OSMAN BĀSHĀ acquainted his officers,
that he proposed to keep in his trenches on the defensive; but at the
same time let his troops know, that such as were disposed, might skir-
mish with the enemy.

The Janissaries of CAIRO, and some troops of ROMANIA, who had not
been in the battle of KERKOU, thought their honour concerned to per-
form some signal action, and being joined by some other of the troops,
and by the ARABS, whom the SERASKIER had taken into his pay, they
 sallied from the entrenchments, and attacked the PERSIANS. The soil
was dry and dusty to a great degree; the wind favoured the TURKS, and
they took the proper advantage of it. They came to an engagement, or
rather a skirmish, which lasted about four hours. The SERASKIER per-
ceiving his men had the superiority, gave orders for others to join them,
this determined the fortune of the day; so that the PERSIANS retreated to-
wards LEILAM, about five leagues from KERKOU, leaving upon the spot
near 4000 ^b men.

We are left a little in the dark, with regard to that engagement which
went by the name of the battle of LEILAM; tho' this place, reported to
be within five leagues of KERKOU, must consequently have been twenty
or thirty leagues from the plains of ARONIA ¹. The PERSIAN general now
prepared for a decisive stroke: he had fought the first battle in his own
name

* This was not the caravan which had been locked up in BAGDAD during the siege, as some ac-
counts pretend ¹ Some make the loss here much greater It was represented at CON-

STANTINOPLE as a second victory, tho' the court was too prudent to rejoice It seems to me to be
little more than a skirmish previous to the fate of the OTTOMAN army; however, it is certain, that
KOULI KHAN'S army suffered on this occasion

¹ We may reconcile the different accounts,
by supposing it to be between both places, for the plains of ARONIA extend near LEILAM The
description of battles properly belongs to soldiers, and few of these give us a good account of what
passes at our very doors, so that we must suppose a great deal with regard to these remoter scenes
more than is related.

1733. name as general; the second was in the name of the young king SHAH, ABAS III. Both these being unsuccessful, the army began to be superstitious. KOULI KHAN therefore resolved to make his decisive blow in the name of SHAH TÄHMAS^k. He chose an advantageous situation to the east, intending to make the attack early the next morning; and the sun shining in the face of the enemy, he might receive from thence the advantage which the TURKS enjoyed four days before, with regard to the wind. At day break, the 26th of OCTOBER, he advanced at the head of 20,000 of his best troops, and fell upon the van-guard of the TURKISH army, which had made some approaches towards him: this attack was so well conducted, that in a short time he pierced through this body of the TURKS. The battle then became general on both sides. The TURKS began soon to give way, which put their army in some confusion. TOPAL OSMAN was not wanting in the duties of a brave and experienced general; he brought his men up to the charge more than once, but the PERSIANS had the ascendancy, and repulsed them with great slaughter. The SERASKIER was fatigued with rallying his people, and perceiving the disorder of his army, put himself at the head of the Janissaries, and disputed the victory with as much bravery, as the importance of the occasion could inspire; till at length, two musquet-balls pierced his body, and he dropt dead from his horse.

Thus fell the brave TOPAL OSMAN, one of the greatest statesmen and generals, and a man of the most integrity, of any in the OTTOMAN empire. His fall determined the fate of the TURKISH army; those who were near him were disheartened, and no longer fought with the same spirit: most of these fell by the sword, others fled, and the defeat became general. The PERSIANS pursued the vanquished enemy, and made a great slaughter. KOULI KHAN immediately sent his AFGHANS to intercept the flight of the ARABS, who had fought under TOPAL OSMAN; and, in remembrance of their perfidious conduct at the battle of KERKOU, he caused great numbers of them to be put to the sword.

The

^k However extraordinary this may appear, the superstition of the soldiers might render it necessary; not so much out of love to SHAH TÄHMAS, as to try their fortune under a name which had been always lucky to TÄHMAS KOULI KHAN.

The TURKS lost upon this occasion all their baggage, artillery, with their military chest, and not less than 40,000 men, among whom were many BASHAS and persons of distinction. A great number were taken prisoners, among these was the intendant¹ of the army, who informed TETHMAS KOULI KHAN of the fate of TOPAL OSMAN. Curiosity, as well as veneration for the character of this great man, induced the PERSIAN general to order that the body should be brought to him: he stood some time in silence, and surveyed it with an awful reverence. TOPAL OSMAN was indeed the conqueror; tho' vanquished, he triumphed. Being arrived to the age of seventy, he had finished his course with glory, which it was hardly possible his enemy should ever attain to; since the principles on which he set out, were diametrically opposite to those of this good man. The PERSIAN general ordered the body to be sent to BAGDAD with proper honour, that the remains of so brave an officer might receive the funeral-rites due to his rank, and the last homage of his countrymen, whose cause he had ever espoused, with a true patriot zeal.

The news of the death of TOPAL OSMAN, with the intire defeat of the OTTOMAN army, astonished the court, and the whole city of CONSTANTINOPLE. The success at KERKOUND in JULY before, served only to add to their sensibility of this misfortune: and from the opinion which had been entertained of the great loss of the PERSIANS on that occasion, they imagined KOULI KHAN to be a devil or enchanter, who could with so rapid a course reverse his fortune.

The grand vizir, apprehensive of some commotion in the city, caused guards to be placed at certain posts to prevent an insurrection. The divan assembled immediately. The grand signior and the musti recommended a peace with PERSIA almost at any price, as the war seemed to tend to the ruin of the empire. The vizir on the other hand represented the PERSIANS as vincible, of which the battle of KERKOUND was a standing memorial; and that to lose the conquered provinces by the force of arms, would be less inglorious than tamely to yield them up to the PERSIANS.

1733. This opinion being at length agreed to, preparations were made to send cannon and ammunition to ALEXANDRIA, also money for the payment of the army; and 8000 Janissaries were commanded to march the 15th of DECEMBER. ABDALLAH KOUPROLI, BASHA of CAIRO, was nominated as generalissimo, in the place of TOPAL OSMAN; and the several BASHAS in the TURKISH dominions in ASIA, had orders to march with all the forces they could collect.

CHAP. XII.

The education, and most remarkable incidents of the life of TOPAL OSMAN BASHA; with a particular account of his gratitude and great generosity to his benefactor, who ransomed him in his youth from slavery.

THE mention I have already made of a brave TURK, will sufficiently countenance the following story. It is an anecdote by no means below the dignity of an historian, nor foreign to my subject. The design of it is to instruct us by example, which is confessedly the great use of history: and I am persuaded this relation will give pleasure to every one who does not think gratitude a pious frenzy, or that it is a virtue fit only for little minds, whose weakness betrays them into a passion, which clashes with self-love, so much the idol of mankind.

TOPAL OSMAN was educated in the chambers of the seraglio^m; a method which was formerly used only with the children of the tribute, and who were all of christian parents. In the year 1698, being then about the

^m There are different chambers of the seraglio through which those children passed, who were formerly sent up from the CHRISTIAN provinces subjected to the OTTOMAN empire. They went from the last chamber into the service of the sultan, and were employed in the different offices of the court and ministry. According to their conduct or fortune, they rose to the several posts and offices of the empire. The policy of this was, that not knowing their parents and relations, and oftentimes ignorant of the very country they came from, they might be the more absolutely dependant and devoted to the service of the grand signor. But now the TURKS have found means to have their own children educated in the seraglio, and the chambers in which those designed for employments are bred, and from which they are taken, do mostly consist of native TURKS.

the age of twenty-five, he was sent with the sultan's orders to the BASHA of CAIRO. He travelled by land to SAID^a, and being afraid of the ARABS who rove about the adjacent countries, plundering passengers and caravans, he embarked on board a TURKISH vessel bound to DAMIETTA, a city on the eastermost channel of the NILE. In this short passage they met with a SPANISH privateer: their ship was no match for her, but the whole crew resolved to fight, and try to preserve their effects, and defend themselves from slavery; upon which a bloody action ensued. There it was this great man gave the first proofs of that intrepidity, by which he so often signalized himself afterwards. The crew, animated by his example, fought with great bravery; but superior numbers at last prevailed, and OSMAN was taken prisoner, after being dangerously wounded in his arm and thigh. 1733.

When the vessel had surrendered, the instances of bravery which OSMAN had shewn, induced the SPANISH captain to pay him a particular regard, especially when it was known that he was charged with the grand signior's orders, and that consequently a large ransom might be expected for him. Notwithstanding the good treatment he received, his wounds were still in a dangerous way, when he arrived at MALTA, whither the privateer went to refit: the wound in his thigh was the most dangerous, and he was lame of it ever afterwards; from which he had the name of TOPAL or cripple, as already mentioned.

At that time, VINCENT ARNAUD, a native of MARSEILLES, was commander of the port at MALTA; and, as his business required, went on board the privateer as soon as she came to anchor. OSMAN no sooner saw ARNAUD, than he said to him; "Can you do a generous and gallant action? Ransom me, and take my word you shall lose nothing by it." Such a request from a slave in chains was not common; but the manner in which it was delivered, struck the FRENCHMAN so much, that he immediately turned to the captain of the privateer, and asked what he demanded for the ransom. He answered, a thousand sequins^b. ARNAUD upon this turning round to the TURK, said: "I know nothing of you, and."

^a The ancient SIDON in SYRIA.

^b Near 300 l

1733. "and would you have me risque a thousand sequins on your bare word?" "Each of us act in this," replied the TURK, "with consistency. I am in chains, and therefore try every method to recover my liberty; and you may act right in not trusting to the word of a stranger; I have nothing at present but my word and honour to give you, nor do I pretend to assign any reason why you should trust to it; however, I tell you once more, if you do trust to it, you shall have no occasion to repent." The commander upon this went to make his report to the grand master, DON PERELLOS. The air with which OSMAN delivered himself, and the seeming ingenuousness, together with the singularity of the circumstances, wrought such an effect upon ARNAUD, that he returned immediately on board the SPANISH vessel, and agreed with the captain for six hundred sequins, which he paid as the price of OSMAN's liberty. After this, he put him on board a vessel of his own, where he provided him with a surgeon, and every thing necessary for his entertainment and cure. In a short time he was out of danger.

OSMAN had mentioned to his benefactor, that he might write to CONSTANTINOPLE for the money he had advanced; but finding himself in the hands of a man who had trusted so much to his honour, he was emboldened to ask him another favour, which was to leave the payment of the ransom entirely to him. ARNAUD distinguished that in such a case things were not to be done by halves; he therefore not only agreed to the proposal, with a good grace, but entrusted him with the ship, in which he had been lodged, and shewed him every other mark of generosity and friendship. Accordingly OSMAN, as soon as he was in a condition, set out again upon his voyage in this vessel.

The FRENCH colours now protected him from the privateers. In a short time he reached DAMIETTA, and sailed up the NILE to CAIRO. No sooner was he arrived there, than he delivered a thousand sequins to the master of the vessel, to be paid his benefactor ARNAUD, together with some rich furs, and five hundred crowns as a present for himself. He executed the orders of the sultan his master with the BASHA of CAIRO; and

and setting out for CONSTANTINOPLE, was himself the first who brought the news of his slavery. 1733,

His sense of the favour that had been done to him, and the generous circumstances of it, was not confined to the first emotions of gratitude: during the whole course of his life, he did not cease, by letters and other acknowledgments, to testify the deep impression it had made upon him,

In 1715 war was declared between the VENETIANS and TURKS. The grand vizir, who had projected the invasion of the MOREA, assembled the OTTOMAN army, near the isthmus of CORINTH; the only pass by which this peninsula can be attacked by land. TOPAL OSMAN was charged with the command to force the pass, which he not only executed with great success, but afterwards took the city of CORINTH by assault. For this service he was rewarded, by being made a BASHA of two tails. The next year he served as lieutenant-general under the grand vizir at the siege of CORRU, which the TURKS were obliged to abandon. OSMAN staid three days before the place to secure and conduct the retreat of the OTTOMAN troops, which he effected with great success.

In 1722 he was appointed SERASKIER¹, and had the command of the army in the MOREA. When the consuls of the different nations came to pay their respects to him in this quality, he distinguished the FRENCH by particular marks of kindness and protection, and gave them a strict charge to write to MALTA to VINCENT ARNAUD, and acquaint him of his new dignity, and to beg of him to send his son, that as it was now in his power, he would charge himself with making his fortune. Accordingly ARNAUD's son went into the MOREA, and the SERASKIER not only made him presents, but granted him privileges and advantages in point of trade, which soon put him in a way of acquiring an estate².

TOPAL OSMAN's parts and abilities were such, that from this command he was soon raised to a greater. He was made a BASHA of three tails, and BEGLERBEG of ROMANIA, one of the greatest governments

in

¹ General in chief

² It may be observed in general, that when men of emigrant rank in

the east mean to do a distinguished service, they are not behind the christians.

1733. in the empire, and which the vicinity to the DANUBIAN provinces, and the frontiers of HUNGARY, renders still more important.

His residence, during his government, was at NYSSA. In the year 1727, VINCENT ARNAUD and his son waited upon him there, and were received with the utmost tenderness and affection. Laying aside the pomp of the BASHA and governor, he embraced them, caused them to be served with sherbet and perfume, and to sit upon the sofa with himself, an honour but rarely bestowed by a BASHA of the first order, and hardly ever to a christian. After these marks of distinction, he sent them away loaded with presents. As the father and son were taking their leave of him, ARNAUD said, he hoped he should live to pay his duty to him, as grand vizir, at CONSTANTINOPLE. This, which was then only a compliment, proved prophetic.

I have already given an account of the great revolution of 1730 in CONSTANTINOPLE, in which the grand vizir IBRAHIM perished. This office was become so perilous, that three had been preferred to it in less than a year's time. In SEPTEMBER 1731, TOPAL OSMAN was called from his government, to fill a place, which though by far the highest in the OTTOMAN empire, and perhaps the highest that any subject in the world enjoys, is always dangerous, and was then so in a particular degree. He no sooner arrived at CONSTANTINOPLE to take possession of his new dignity, than he sent for the FRENCH ambassador, and desired him to write to MALTA, and let his old benefactor know of his advancement; and that he should hasten to CONSTANTINOPLE, while things remained in the present situation; adding, that a grand vizir seldom kept long in his station.

In the month of JANUARY 1732, ARNAUD with his son arrived at CONSTANTINOPLE from MALTA, bringing with him variety of presents, and twelve TURKS whom he had ransomed from slavery. These, by command of the vizir, were ranged in order before him. VINCENT ARNAUD, now seventy-two years of age, with his son, were brought before TOPAL OSMAN, grand vizir of the OTTOMAN empire. He received them in the presence of the great officers of state, with the utmost marks

of affection. Then turning to those about him, and pointing to the ransomed TURKS, "Behold," says he, "these your brethren now enjoying the sweets of liberty, after having groaned in slavery: this FRENCHMAN is their deliverer. I was myself a slave, loaded with chains, streaming in blood, and covered with wounds: this is the man who redeemed and saved me; this is my master and benefactor: to him I am indebted for life, liberty, fortune, and every thing I enjoy. Without knowing me, he paid for me a large ransom; sent me away upon my bare word, and gave me a ship to carry me where I pleased. Where is even a Mussulman capable of an action of such generosity?"

While OSMAN was speaking, every one present had their eyes fixed upon old ARNAUD, who held the grand vizir's hands closely locked between his own. The vizir then asked both father and son many questions concerning their situation and fortune, heard their answers with kindness and attention, and then ended with an ARABIC sentence, ALLAH-KERIM*. He made before them the distribution of the presents they had brought, the greatest part of which he sent to the sultan, the sultana mother, and the KISLAR AGA†. Upon which the two FRENCHMEN made their obeisance, and retired.

After this ceremony was over, the son of the grand vizir took them to his apartments, where he treated them with great kindness. Some time before they left CONSTANTINOPLE, they had a conference in private with the vizir, who divested himself of all state and ceremony. He let them understand, that the nature of his situation would not permit him to do as he desired, since a minister ever appears in the eyes of many to do nothing without a view to his own particular interest; adding, that a BASHA was lord and master in his own province, but that the grand vizir at CONSTANTINOPLE had a master greater than himself.

He caused them to be amply paid for the ransom of the TURKS, and likewise procured the restitution of a debt, which they had looked on as desperate: he also made them presents in money, and gave them an order,

* The providence of God is great.

† Chief of the black eunuchs.

733. order, in virtue of which they took a loading of corn at SALONICA, which was likely to be very profitable, as the exportation of corn from that port had been for a long time prohibited.

As his gratitude was without bounds, he seemed desirous to convince his benefactor, that his liberality was the same; his behaviour, upon this occasion, must appear great and noble, since every action of his life demonstrates a mind superior to affectation. His conduct appears the more generous, when it is considered, what contempt and aversion the prejudices of education often create in the mind of a TURK against the christians: and if we reflect further, that this confession was made before his whole court, the action will appear in its full lustre.

By the vigilance and steadiness of his ministry, this great man restored government and a regular discipline, with plenty to CONSTANTINOPLE, where a licentious confusion had so lately reigned, and where the inhabitants had been in such distress, that the necessaries of life were not to be had but at an excessive price. He has indeed been blamed for his too great severity; but it is certain, that he never condemned to death the most culpable, even of the lowest class of the people, without the decision of the musti. And though his severity should have been extended to what might be deemed an excess, reasons of state, and the security of the general tranquillity of the empire, might make a strict execution of the laws not only expedient, but absolutely necessary. Nor can it be supposed, that a man, whose honour and goodness of heart was so conspicuously displayed, could be cruel. The greatest proof that can be given to clear him of such an imputation, is the universal regret that people of all ranks shewed when he was removed from his office.

He received his orders of dismissal with all the calmness imaginable; for he was too wise to expect that virtue alone could support a man in an office under a distracted government, and where change was adopted as necessary. When he came out of the seraglio, after delivering up the seal of the empire, he found his friends and domestics very pensive and disconsolate. "What is the reason," says he, "of your affliction; have

" I

"I not always said, that the office of vizir is of all others the most likely
 "to be short? All my concern was, how I should get out of it with ho-
 "nour; and thanks to God, I have done nothing with which I reproach
 "myself. My master, the grand signior, approves my services, and I resign
 "with perfect satisfaction." He then gave orders for rendering his thanks
 to heaven, as if it had been one of the most happy events of his life *.

After this, he immediately set out for TREBISONDE, where he was ap-
 pointed BASHA. His removal could not be called a disgrace, for the grand
 signior never ceased to treat him with all possible marks of distinction.
 His highness acquainted him, that he must leave his son at CONSTANTI-
 NOPLE, and that himself would take care of his fortune. About four days
 after TOPAL OSMAN's departure, this young man had the honour of de-
 livering to the sultan, the present * which his father was to have made
 him on the feast of BAYRAM †. Presents at the OTTOMAN court, as well
 as all over the east, are not considered as the effects of generosity and
 friendship, or marks of respect, but as a tribute which must be paid by
 inferiors of all ranks to their superiors, especially from certain officers to
 their sovereign. This present might however have been dispensed with,
 as the father was out of the office of grand vizir; but he gave his son
 express orders at his departure, not to fail to make it, and by that means,
 he shewed, with what entire satisfaction, he had resigned his high em-
 ployment.

The grand signior received the present, in a manner that convinced
 him and all the world, that he had not in the least forfeited his esteem.
 He had been gone but a few days, when orders were sent to him to re-
 pair to the frontiers of PERSIA, and take upon him the command of the
 OTTOMAN armies. This was an honourable and important station, but
 full of danger and difficulty. He filled it with all the abilities of a wise
 statesman and experienced officer. Though he sunk at last before the
 fortune of TÄHMAS KOULI KHAN, yet he fell worthy of himself, worthy

O 2

of

* A rare instance this of virtue I hope it is strictly true I am sorry to say it is not more credi-
 ble of a christian than of a MAHOMMEDAN See Vol I page 198

† A horse furniture
 set with jewels, value 50,000 crowns

‡ This is a high festival among the TURKS, at
 which time it is usual to make presents to one another.

1733. of that character he had so deservedly acquired, and maintained through the course of a life, not distinguished so much by his high employments, as that he never deviated from the paths of honour and virtue.

The grand signior, preserved such an esteem for his memory, that tho' his son ACHMED was but young, he promoted him to the high post of BASHA and BEGLERBEG of ROMANIA, which his father enjoyed when he was called to the office of grand vizir. It gives us the strongest idea of arbitrary power, to consider the policy of the OTTOMAN government. The same grand signior, who promoted the son to one of the first dignities of the empire, in honour to the father's memory and great services, sent an order to seize all the father's effects*. It may be presumed the state was poor, which in such governments was a sufficient reason. Thus the son succeeded to no great part of the vast riches his father died possessed of.

TOPAL OSMAN was one of those few, who through the course of a long life, gave the highest demonstrations of a mind superior to vulgar applause. His greatness was the effect of his virtue, his understanding and intrepidity; but his ambition was to act like a man, who believes there is a God, and a state of rewards and punishments. If this generous TURK said of VINCENT ARNAUD, "Where is even a mussulman who is capable of an action of such generosity?" We may say, "Where shall we find even a christian, requiring a generous action in a more noble manner than TOPAL OSMAN?" Instances of this kind among either christians or MAHOMMEDANS, are indeed but rare; and therefore when they happen, ought the more to be recorded.

* This is meant of his moveable or personal estate. As to landed estates, it is a custom for persons in the service of the grand signior, to assign them in heritage to the church, in case of the failure of heirs, by which means they cannot be seized by the crown, without a degree of violence.

CHAP. XIII.

TEHMAS KOULI KHAN acquaints the RUSSIAN court of his success. ACHMED BASHA prepares to stand another siege. MAHOMMED KHAN BALOUCHE declares for TEHMAS SHAH at SHIRASS; is defeated by KOULI KHAN, and hangs himself. The TURKS prepare to take the field. KOULI KHAN marches into GEORGIA the beginning of 1734, and takes TEFLIS. Description of that country. SELIM BASHA retires out of GEORGIA. KOULI KHAN takes GANJA and SHAMAKIE.

TEHMAS KOULI KHAN having obtained this memorable victory, 1733 over the TURKS, and given orders for the burial of his dead, dispatched an express to acquaint the RUSSIAN empress of the signal advantage he had obtained. This news was not ungrateful to the court of ST. PETERSBURG: the court was divided into factions upon the subject of a war with RUSSIA; but it was apprehended, if KOULI KHAN had not kept them fully employed, they would have soon determined upon it: and preparations were accordingly making in RUSSIA.

It is presumed, that KOULI KHAN requested that the empress would not permit the CRIM TARTARS to pass near her dominions, should they attempt to join the LESGEEES, who waited only a favourable occasion of making a powerful diversion in SHIRVAN and other places, near the coast of the CASPIAN SEA. The RUSSIANS, yet possessed of DERBEND, and the conquest they had made on that coast; were not interested to countenance the projects of KOULI KHAN, any otherwise than to reduce the TURKS, which was a much greater object than the preservation of that conquest.

So signal an advantage gained over the TURKS, within fifty leagues of BAGDAT, could not but alarm ACHMED BASHA. We have already observed, that this sagacious governor had put his city in a condition of defence, and preserved a kind of independent sovereignty. After the battle of KERKOUDE, several detachments of TOPAL OSMAN's forces demanded entrance into the city. The BASHA absolutely refused, alledging, that

1734. riched himself with their sequestered estates, and returned to ISFAHAN. Here he remained till the next spring, employing himself in recruiting his army in hopes of finishing the great work in which he had so well succeeded the last year, and of compelling the TURKS to yield up all the conquered provinces.

In the mean while, the OTTOMAN court made all the preparations possible, to defend themselves against an enemy, whom they had now sufficient reason to believe very formidable. They had made an attempt to engage the KHAN of the CRIM TARTARS in their quarrel, and if these could have been joined with the LESGEES, they might make a powerful diversion in SHIRVAN; but it is hardly practicable to penetrate into PERSIA through the passes of mount CAUCASUS, or the country to the north-west of DAGISTAN.

The LESGEES, however disposed to take all advantages of the PERSIANS, were but ill-inclined to favour the entrance of the CRIM TARTARS on the north-side of their mountainous residences. The GEORGIANS were as little disposed to receive them into their country; and the RUSSIANS least of all. The CABARDINIAN TARTARS, who are subject to RUSSIA, were ordered to appear in arms, if those of the CRIM should attempt to force a passage; and as a war was expected to break out with the RUSSIANS, the CRIM TARTARS would by this means be left exposed; so that the TURKS had but little reason to expect any succours in the PERSIAN war from those TARTARS. The LESGEES, however, appeared in arms, designing to make a diversion in favour of the TURKS.

KOULI KHAN having recruited his army to near 100,000 fighting men, opened the campaign this year by marching directly to TAVRIS, from whence he sent his son NESR ALI, with a body of forces to the banks of the KURA, to drive the LESGEES back again into their mountains. These TARTARS made incursions into SHIRVAN, but finding a numerous body of PERSIAN forces which they did not expect, they retired with great precipitation. He left his son on the banks of the KURA, with orders to march to GANJA, whilst he himself penetrated into GEORGIA as far as TEPLIS.

This

This city is supposed to be the ACROPOLIS of the antients; it is large and well peopled, and the houses built with brick. In the center is an eminence with a citadel, very difficult of access: at the foot of it runs the KURA, which contributes much to its natural strength. 1734.

The GEORGIANS are the descendants of the antient IBERIANS, who inhabited the countries on both sides the CYRUS^b. The GREEKS call them GEORGI, from whence we may presume they derived their present name; the oriental nations call this country GUERGESTAN.

The bravery of these people is very remarkable; their situation seems to exact it of them. In these latter times we have had several proofs, particularly of those commanded by GURGHIN KHAN, the governor of KANDAHAR, as mentioned in the preceding volume. The VALI of GEORGIA, we have also seen, might, to all human appearance, have saved the PERSIAN monarchy, had he not adhered to a rash vow. These people are as dextrous with the bow and arrow, as with fire-arms; and the PERSIANS were wont to esteem them the best troops in their army. They were now tributary to the TURKS, and consequently few if any of them amongst NADIR's forces. That they were always very warlike, appears from antient historians; they neither submitted to the MEDES nor PERSIANS, nor even to ALEXANDER the GREAT: they could not indeed resist the ROMAN arms; POMPEY took their capital ACROPOLIS, and reduced the kingdom of IBERIA to a ROMAN province.

The KHAN of TEF LIS has the title of VALI, and all the other chiefs of the respective provinces are denominated princes. These last are independent of each other, as well as of the VALI; but in case of danger they unite in one common interest. Hemmed in by two powerful nations, they have necessarily paid tribute either to the TURKS or PERSIANS for some ages. Their governments are hereditary, and seldom any accidents have happened to divest their families of their respective sovereignties; which are in number about a dozen, who are divided and subdivided. They generally

^b Present name KURA.

1734: generally, support from 200 to 1000 men each, and two or three of them can bring 6000 into the field. For the support of these soldiers, the peasants pay a tenth of the produce of the land; besides furnishing, in time of war, a certain number of men equipped.

The climate of this country is soft, not very different from that of ITALY, and extends from about the latitude of 41 to 44. The capital TEF LIS is near the center of the lower GEORGIA; the upper GEORGIA stretches towards the BLACK SEA. It is surrounded with mountains almost on every side, and abounds in woods, but there are also very fertile plains. They till their land with buffaloes and oxen; they plow deep, and their crops are abundant. They are christians of the GREEK religion, and consequently not forbidden the use of wine, which they have very good, and in great plenty. The men are remarkably tall, comely, robust, and well made, ostentatious, and fond of a splendid appearance; the women are celebrated for their beauty over all ASIA.

The GEORGIANS have generally been most disposed to submit to the PERSIANS, and in order to support their fidelity, the sovereigns of that monarchy have shewn them great indulgence. Those of their princes, who are disposed to change their religion, have ever met with a kind reception at the PERSIAN court, and been entrusted with some of the first employments in that government. PERSIA by this means has had a constant resource of troops, whose valour and fidelity might be safely relied on.

The GEORGIANS now saw their sovereign the grand signior oppressed on every side; disheartened by the defeat of TOPAL OSMAN, and in no capacity to make head against the victorious armies of KOULI KHAN. TEF LIS having submitted to him, he thought it his interest to treat the people with tenderness. The TURKS retired, not being in any condition to oppose him.

KOULI

These are often spoken of in EUROPE under the name of CIRCASSIANS, though CIRCASSIA is much farther to the north-west.

I never heard, from any good authority, that KOULI KHAN had any number of GEORGIANS in his army, probably esteeming it impolitic to entertain people of so different principles in religion.

1734.
 KOULI KHAN, in the exultation of his heart, declared that he would carry his victorious arms to the HELLESPONT, with a more formidable power than that of XERXES. All the dominions of the grand signior did indeed tremble at his name. The TURKS confessed, that they were never more embarrassed since the establishment of their monarchy. Their treasures were exhausted; and their army of veterans hardly amounted to one third part of that of the PERSIANS. Count BONNEVAL recommended the EUROPEAN discipline; but the TURKS had a superstitious reverence for their ancient military customs; neither could they derive any advantage from a change of discipline, but by long practice. They raised about 15000 men in BOSNIA, which were ordered to join the OTTOMAN army near BAGDAT, under the command of the SERASKIER ABDALLAH KOUPROLI, who was esteemed one of the best officers in their service. The court also sent 4000 men to him by the way of TREBISONDE; but this reinforcement was very insufficient to stop the progress of the PERSIANS.

In the mean while, SELIM BASHA being in no condition to oppose the PERSIANS, had retired out of GEORGIA towards ALEPPO, leaving that country, as well as ARMENIA, a prey to the victorious KOULI KHAN; upon which all the GEORGIAN princes, who were before tributary to the OTTOMAN empire, submitted to him. Towards the end of OCTOBER, he came before GANJA, where the TURKS had thrown in a garrison of 5000 men; these maintained themselves so well, that NESR ALI with his forces had not been able to reduce them: KOULI KHAN therefore erected three batteries of ten cannon each, and before the month was expired, this place also submitted at discretion.

From thence he directed his course to SHAMAKIE. The TURKS had detached a body of 8000 men, mostly LESGEES, to guard the bridge of boats over the KURA at JAVAR; but they were soon put to flight. The countenance which this city had given to the LESGEES, had so much offended him, that he resolved to raze it to the ground, and slaughter a great part of the inhabitants. Those who had offended most, being either LESGEES, or closely connected with them, fled into the mountains. After a short warning, he commanded the inhabitant, who escaped the

1734. fury of his resentment, to retire to AGHSON, on the western side of the mountains; where they might build a new city; and he then destroyed the place. SHAMAKIE had been for many ages esteemed one of the most flourishing cities in this part of the world, well peopled, and abounding in all the necessaries of life. Its situation was agreeable, and its trade extensive. Here the merchants from PERSIA and TURKEY, ARMENIA, GEORGIA, and RUSSIA had their rendezvous; so that it was a staple for all the commodities of these countries, together with those of EUROPE. It was also a place of defence.

These however were not sufficient reasons with the ambitious KOULI KHAN to preserve this city. Indeed, it is hard to say, if he made a sacrifice of it to his pride or resentment, more than to reasons of policy. The conquest of the LESGEEs was an object he had very much at heart; and experience had proved, that it was an asylum to them of late years; or at least, that it was the seat of rebellion, from whence SHIRVAN was invaded.

C H A P. XIV.

The TURKS desire a peace: KOULI KHAN sends an ambassador to the RUSSIAN court. ABDALLAH KOUPROLI gives battle to KOULI KHAN in the valley of ARPAKAVI, and is slain, together with 20,000 TURKS. ABDALLAH BASHA retreats to CARs. CARA ACHMED appointed SERASKIER of the TURKISH army. ERIVAN taken. The TURKS declare war against the RUSSIANS. KOULI KHAN's conduct towards that nation.

THE rapid progress of the PERSIAN arms, made the divan of CONSTANTINOPLE in the highest degree desirous of peace with PERSIA: but TEHMAS KOULI KHAN, ambitious of new triumphs, proudly despised any accommodation, but what was judged to be very injurious to the honour of the grand signior. The inclination of the port was to commence a war with the christian powers; and great magazines were forming

* This place stood in 1746, as described in the map and account of the trait of the RUSSIAN embassy, Vol. I. page 376 and 386.

forming in BOSNIA, in expectation of a favourable opportunity to enter thro' VALACHIA into the UKRAIN: The OTTOMAN court was also very jealous of the good understanding between the RUSSIANS and the PERSIANS, and apprehended a treaty of alliance, by which the former were to make a diversion in favour of PERSIA on the side of ASOPH, whilst there was not less reason to apprehend, that with such assistance TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN might carry his arms into NATOLIA, and make the grand signior tremble on his throne. 1734

What favoured the former opinion, was the arrival, at the beginning of this year, of HUSSEIN KOULI KHAN as ambassador from ABAS, the infant SHAH of PERSIA, to the court of ST. PETERSBURG; his credential letters were signed with the seal of the general TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN. This minister informed her imperial majesty, that TÆHMAS SHAH being a weak prince, whose conduct threatened the ruin of the PERSIAN empire, the khans, and all the great lords of the state, had determined to depose him, and set up his son ABAS in his place: that they meant not to do the dethroned prince any harm, but to indulge him in all the pleasures to which he was inclined, without submitting to his pacific disposition, with regard to their common enemy the TURK: that TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN, whose valour and fortune was equal to that of ALEXANDER, and whose prudence and generosity were unrivalled, was determined to prosecute the war with vigour: that her imperial majesty might be assured he would never lay down his arms, whilst the grand signior was in any condition to make war against her; the PERSIANS being intirely disposed to support a perfect amity with the dominions of her imperial majesty, whose interest they considered in common with their own. 1735.

This ambassador was also charged with a commission, to require the delivery of DERBEND, BAKU, RESHD, and all the places in the provinces of SHIRVAN and GHILAN, with the other districts situated on the coast of the CASPIAN SEA, which had been conquered by PETER the GREAT; also that those TARTARS in the mountains of DAGISTAN, who had submitted

^f I have already given some account of these people in my first volume, and I have only to observe further, that from this country the ALANS in the fifth century are said to have spread themselves like a flood over EUROPE, extending their conquest as far as SPAIN.

1735. submitted to the RUSSIAN arms, should be again restored to the dominion of PERSIA.

It was said, that KOULI' KHAN had in the vanity of his heart declared, that if the RUSSIANS did not retire, he would take a broom, and sweep them out. The RUSSIANS, apprehensive of a war with the TURKS, did not think those countries worth a contest: they had never received any benefit from them, but quite the reverse, for they only proved a grave to their armies. As to the revenues of those provinces since the year 1722, which were also demanded by the ambassador, the RUSSIAN ministry alledged, that so far from drawing any advantage from thence, the government had been at a great expence in the support of them.

In consequence of this treaty now made with TÄHMAS KOULI KHAN, her imperial majesty appointed a general officer to accompany the PERSIAN commissaries, in order to see the evacuation of the countries already mentioned, and to fix the boundaries of the two states, which was accordingly done soon after. The ambassador having received all the honours due to his character, took his leave of the empress the 13th of MARCH; and the court bore the expence of his journey to the frontiers, according to custom. The empress intended to send an ambassador to ISFAHAN, to compliment the young SHAH^s, and from thence to proceed to the army, in order to finish the negotiations with TÄHMAS KOULI KHAN, which the PERSIAN minister had already begun.

The TURKS had not yet recovered the shock occasioned by the defeat of TOPAL OSMAN, and the rapid progress of the PERSIAN arms the last year had disheartened the court to an extreme degree, insomuch that they would hardly have opposed the enemy, had there been no other object to preserve than the conquered provinces. At the same time, the good intelligence between the RUSSIANS and the PERSIANS, gave great umbrage to the port. The grand signior comforted himself however in hopes of an accommodation with the PERSIANS, and that the loss of GEORGIA would be repaired by his conquests in christendom, the situation of the EUROPEAN

* We find afterwards, that the RUSSIAN ministers were too sensible of the changes to which GEORGIA was subject, to carry this design into execution.

PEAN powers at that time seeming to facilitate the success of the OTTOMAN arms. The PERSIAN army was now increased to 120,000 men, and KOULI KHAN absolutely refused to enter into terms of accommodation, unless the TURKS would not only yield up all the conquered provinces, but also pay him the charge of the war. 1735

The OTTOMAN court was continually sending troops, ammunition, and money to ALEPPO and TREBISONDE, from whence the army under ABDALLAH KOUPROLI, BASHA of CAIRO, was supplied; this general had also succours from CAIRO, but as yet he kept close in his intrenchments in ARMENIA. The TURKS esteeming this as a holy war, were yet in spirits to try the fortune of another campaign. The grand signior therefore gave orders to the SERASKIER KOUPROLI, to give battle to TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN, as soon as he should find himself sufficiently reinforced.

The PERSIAN general had spent the beginning of this year in reducing GEORGIA, and was now on his march to ERIVAN. Designing to bring the TURKS to an engagement, he sent a detachment of 15,000 men towards their camp. The SERASKIER immediately concluded, that this motion could be made with no other design than to reconnoitre his situation; he therefore sent a body of his best cavalry to meet them, and after a short skirmish the PERSIANS retreated in confusion. The SERASKIER unwilling to lose so apparent an advantage, dispatched more troops after them, and followed himself at the head of his army, making forced marches, in hopes to intercept their junction with the main body of the PERSIANS.

On the 10th of JUNE, TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN appeared with 40,000 men in the valley of ARPAKAVI, so that the whole force with him did not exceed 55,000. The SERASKIER, on the other hand, had an army of 80,000. At the approach of the TURKS, the PERSIAN general broke up his camp with a seeming precipitation, and retired towards ERIVAN. After several forced marches, being arrived at the streight previously designed for the action, he concealed a body of his men in a wood, whilst another strong party was covered in a valley. In this situation he prepared to receive the TURKS.

1735. The van of the TURKISH army saw themselves at once attacked in flank and rear by the PERSIANS, who came out of the defiles. The action was very bloody, and lasted five hours; the SERASKIER had two horses killed under him, and after fighting very bravely, met with the same fate as his predecessor TOPAL OSMAN; besides him, fell DEMIR BASHA, and MUSTAPHA BASHA, generals of the first rank, the last was a kinsman of the grand signior; they lost also four other BASHAS, with 20,000 men, the greatest part of whom were killed, the rest taken prisoners; the PERSIANS likewise made themselves masters of thirty-two pieces of cannon, with the military chest and baggage.

This victory was obtained the cheaper, as the rear of the TURKS could not come up, and consequently had no share in the action; these retired as soon as they found their van totally defeated: they were followed however by the PERSIANS for near three leagues; some fled to the neighbouring cities, and others into the mountains. ABDALLAH BASHA carried off 8000 TURKS to CARS, a city in the UPPER ARMENIA.

The news of this defeat flung the whole city of CONSTANTINOPLE into the utmost consternation, as they concluded from hence, that not only the conquered countries must submit, but that it would be dangerous to the whole empire to continue the war any longer. Fresh orders were therefore sent to ACHMED, BASHA of BAGDAT, with full powers to negotiate a peace with TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN. The friendship which the PERSIAN general had professed for this BASHA, was a circumstance which served to support the drooping spirits of the OTTOMAN court; the BASHA had also acquired so great a reputation, that his enemies as well as his partizans, often stiled him ACHMED PADISHA². The musti and all the court appeared however with very sorrowful countenances. CARA ACHMED, who had been for some time lieutenant to the governor of BAGDAT, a good soldier, and well versed in the liberal arts, was now sent to supply the place of the SERASKIER KOUPROLI.

TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN was no sooner master of the field, than he dispatched an officer to the RUSSIAN court, to inform them of his victory.

The

² The emperor ACHMED.

The designs which he had now formed, required a peace with the TURKS; but he still promised to do nothing without the consent of the empress of RUSSIA. However, if we may judge from the event, he was desirous of engaging the RUSSIANS in a war with the TURKS, as the most effectual means of promoting his own schemes. 1735.

This second important victory favoured his designs. He immediately laid siege to ERIVAN the capital of ARMENIA; the garrison having no expectation of succours, soon demanded to capitulate, and were permitted to retire to CARS; but part of the inhabitants were removed into KHORASAN. From thence he sent a strong detachment to ERZEROUN; and by the end of this year's campaign he recovered all the conquered provinces.

If we consider to what a wretched state PERSIA had been reduced six years before, when TÄHMÄS KOU LI KHAN appeared at the head of her forces, we must impute this rapid success to his military genius and fortune. What a prodigious change was it for a country devoured by rapine, whose subjects were despised abroad, and plunged into miseries at home, to give laws to a powerful monarchy in so short a time! It is natural to think, that in the height of his triumphs, ASIA would not have bounded his conquests, had his passion been only for military glory; but every circumstance of his conduct proved that he aspired at more than triumphs; and that his ambition of sovereignty was equal to that of conquest; neither of which could be long supported without vast funds, and these hardly were to be obtained by pursuing the war against the TURKS.

Before we enter upon the relation of any new event, we must go back to the situation of the OTTOMAN court. The defeat of the SERASKIER KOU PRO LI was attended with a further change of ministry at CONSTANTINOPLE. ISMAEL BASHA, the grand vizir, who had been the chief adviser to prosecute the war with PERSIA, was deposed the 12th of JULY, and though a relation of the grand signior, was banished to the isle of CANDIA:

* At ERZEROUN the peace was concluded by the PERSIAN and TURKISH ministers.

1735. CANDIA : MAHOMMED BASHA succeeded him ; the last was also appointed SERASKIER of the army intended to be sent against the RUSSIANS. This minister accordingly marched out of CONSTANTINOPLE in great pomp and ceremony, with the standard of MAHOMMED carried before him. The RUSSIANS, who naturally expected this event, were very vigilant in marching an army early into the field ; insomuch, that ASOPH was besieged before the TURKS had taken care to provide a sufficient garrison. This place being at the mouth of the river DON on the PALUS MÆOTIS, and communicating with the BLACK SEA, the laying siege to it created great alarms at CONSTANTINOPLE.

The ministers of the several christian potentates interposed their mediation, to prevent the great effusion of blood, which the RUSSIAN war must necessarily occasion, but the TURKS were inexorably bent to pursue it. KOULI KHAN pretended to make it an article in the peace he was negotiating with the TURKS, to include the RUSSIANS. This was a ministerial stroke, which answered a double purpose. He knew the TURKS were entirely averse to it, and consequently their refusal gave him the better plea to make his own terms ; and, at the same time, he secretly wished to involve his new friend, as well as his old one, in a war that should keep them well employed for some time, whilst he pursued the favourite projects which he had planned : for this purpose, it was also necessary to start all the difficulties imaginable, in order to protract the issue of the conferences at ERZEROU. ABDIL BAKI KHAN, the PERSIAN ambassador, met ACHMED, BASHA of BAGDAT, but nothing could be concluded this year. The TURKS made no difficulty to yield up or restore all the countries conquered from PERSIA since the time of SHAH HUSSEIN, with those which had been separated from that empire during that reign ; but KOULI KHAN, not satisfied with this, made pretensions on BAGDAT, and demanded to be paid the expences of the war.

P A R T , IV.

FROM THE

ELECTING OF TÆHMAS KOULI
KHAN KING OF PERSIA IN 1736,

TILL HIS

RETURN FROM HIS MEMORABLE EXPEDITION INTO
INDIA IN 1740.

C H A P. XV.

The young SHAH ABAS dies. The RUSSIANS evacuate DERBEND, and yield up their conquests in PERSIA. TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN declared king. Conditions of accepting the diadem. The MULLAH BASHI put to death. NADIR coins money, and-seizes the lands of the church. Ediēt concerning the sect of the SUNNIS and SCHIAS.

THE beginning of this year ripened the plot. PERSIA, trembling at the effects of her own conquests, saw herself in the hands of an usurper, whose military abilities rendered him the idol of his army. The young prince ABAS, who was of a complexion extremely delicate, died. Whether his death was intirely according to the course of nature, is not declared: it is probable, however precarious the life of this infant-king might have been, that some art was used, in order, that so feeble an impediment should not obstruct the designs of TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN. 1736.

The 10th of MARCH, as I have more than once observed, is the PERSIANS new-year's-day, when it is the custom of their princes to assemble

1736. the governors of the provinces, and demand an account of their administration. This was a favourable occasion to convoke all the governors, elders, and great officers, together with the generals of his army, in order to communicate the success of his arms, and to consult what further measures were necessary to be taken for the common good. The rendezvous was appointed in the plains of MOGAN, near the banks of the ARAS, where he had assembled the greatest part of his forces, consisting of near 100,000 men. He acquainted the nobles and governors, that the reason of calling them together was, that they might know from him how GOD had been pleased to bless his arms with success, and to restore all the dominions which had been torn from the late family of the SEFFIES. That he had delivered PERSIA from the yoke of the AFGHANS, and was in treaty with the TURKS, with whom he hoped soon to make such a peace as would be agreeable, since the grand signior must be obliged to accept of the conditions which he should prescribe: that he had also concluded a peace with the RUSSIANS, who had restored all those dominions belonging to the PERSIAN empire, which they had conquered fourteen years before: in short, that he had left nothing to be done except the conquest of KANDAHAR. But as it was necessary for the support and continuation of the glory of the monarchy, that they should have a person at the head of their armies, who might prevent such fatal consequences as they experienced in the preceding reign, and as it was his intention to enjoy the remainder of his life in repose, he desired to resign his office; for which reason they must make choice of a new general. Moreover, as it had pleased GOD to deprive them of the young ABAS, they must elect a king also: if they thought SHAH TEHMAS could govern them with valour and wisdom, that they had only to recall him; but if he was not capable, they must fix their choice upon some other: that so important a business required mature consideration, he therefore recommended it to them, and desired their answer in three days.

There was hardly a sensible man in the assembly, but saw through this thin disguise of these propositions; and many saw it with indignation, who had not virtue enough to declare their real sentiments. KOULI

KHAN retired to his tent, and left the deputies to their own contemplations : he ordered that they should be entertained at the public expence, and treated with all the respect imaginable. It is reasonable to presume, that he had already made his sentiments known to the principal officers, whilst it was obvious to every common soldier, that military glory, and a despotic authority, were his ruling passions. The great care and tenderness which he had upon all occasions shewn them, necessarily engaged their wishes to see him their sovereign, as well as their general. Under these circumstances, what voice could the deputies of the people have, but such as was agreeable to the army ?

The three days being expired, the deputies waited on the general with a petition, representing, “ That as GOD had been pleased to make use
“ of his arm to restore the glory of the PERSIAN monarchy, none was
“ so worthy of the diadem as himself ; that their lives and fortunes were
“ redeemed by him, and to him therefore they ought to be devoted.”

TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN then replied : “ It is true, that since I led the
“ people to battle, divine Providence has been pleased to favour my de-
“ signs. You have yourselves been witnesses of the amazing success of
“ the PERSIAN arms. It was not my intention however in calling you
“ together, to receive this mark of your gratitude ; but since heaven has
“ decreed that my feeble arm should be the instrument of that almighty
“ power which governs all things, I will consent to your proposal, under
“ certain conditions. It will rest on yourselves to support your own
“ choice, and assist me to exalt the nation to as high a pitch of glory
“ as the greatest kings of the former ages have done. But if you will
“ make me your king, you must remember to comply with the condi-
“ tions which I now require. First, You must make the diadem here-
“ ditary in my family. Secondly, You shall not entertain in your houses
“ any of the family of your old kings, much less mention any thing
“ tending to rebellion. And lastly, You shall not curse OMAR, OSMAN,
“ and ABUBEKER, nor observe the tumultuous meetings at the commemoration of HUSSEIN’s death ; and as a great effusion of blood has
“ been occasioned by the religious differences of the sects of the

1736. "SCHIAS and SUNNISⁱ, which, in my opinion, are not in themselves essential, an assembly of the priests shall be called to regulate these differences."

It may, I think, be presumed, that NADIR SHAH, for that is the name by which we must now call him, elate with his great victories over the TURKS, had flattered himself that he might one day unite the PERSIAN and OTTOMAN dominions under the same head; but though this dazzling object floated in his imagination, he could scarcely hope to make a speedy conquest of the minds of the people, or that he could reign over both nations, whilst they remained of different sects. It is true, he was bred a SUNNI, and from thence might seem somewhat inclined that way; though, in reality, the tenets of both parties were equally indifferent to him.

The KHANS and deputies of all the provinces came readily into the two first articles, which seemed more particularly to regard their allegiance to their new sovereign. As to the commemoration of the death of RUSSEIN, the son of ALI, we have already explained, that this festival^k regarded the ecclesiastical government; but since it might be made an occasion of tumultuous assemblies, NADIR wisely guarded against it, as injurious to his interest. In regard to the last article, they desired the high priest^l might be heard; he was accordingly brought into the presence of the new sovereign, where he spoke to this effect: "It is not for earthly princes to direct in what manner the God of heaven and earth ought to be worshiped: we have our law, as delivered down by divine authority, through the mediation of the prophet^m; that is our guide; and as all changes in religious matters are subject to very dangerous consequences, I hope no means will be taken to sully the lustre of your victories, by a step so derogatory to the welfare of the true believers." Such a speech as this, might have easily fired the hearts of a people naturally inclined to enthusiasm; but perhaps this honest priest was the only man

ⁱ See Vol. I. page 538. Also Vol. III. page 33. To this we may add, that as the SUNNIS, who are the sect of the TURKS, acknowledge the Khoran as expounded by the doctors, MALEK, SHAFI, JAFAR, and ABUL HAKIFA. so the PERSIANS or SCHIAS adhere to ALI, and are guided by their own IMAMS, who have expounded their ecclesiastical law.

^k MULLAH NASHI.

^m MAHOMMED.

^l See Vol. III. page 32.

man who dared to speak his mind; the only one, at least, of any eminent authority, who had courage to check that imperious spirit, which already shewed itself in NADIR, though he had not yet received the ensigns of royalty: but as if heaven had marked him out for deliverance from the cruel bondage of NADIR's government, he was soon silenced with a bow-string. This well-meaning priest might, however, have checked his zeal; for as the matter was to be referred to priests of the different sects, the consequence was very natural, that it would remain as they found it: nor did the people give their tacit consent to these proposals, so as to produce any particular effect, with regard to the uniformity of religion.

The next day, being the 11th of MARCH, the general was proclaimed king, under the name of NADIR SHAH^a, and the people paid him homage as such, which he accepted with an air of dignity mixed with arrogance. The ARMENIAN patriarch, who was in the camp, performed part of the ceremony, by buckling on his sabre; but as to the plume^o and diadem, which, as already observed, is the more essential mark of royalty, he changed it himself from the left-side to his right, as if he meant to shew, that to his own arm only he was indebted for his exaltation.

Thus did the aspiring genius of this instrument of divine wrath accomplish his end: thus did he reach that point which CÆSAR could not attain; tho' in valour, generosity, and strength of mind, this celebrated ROMAN was not inferior to the PERSIAN usurper; whilst he excelled him in learning, politeness, and humanity, to which NADIR indeed had no pretensions. CROMWELL also was baffled in his aim at the crown of ENGLAND; neither his skill nor cunning, nor his valour nor resolution, could acquire him the name of king. ROME, tho' corrupt to an extreme, and ripe for a change of that form of government, by which her people had arrived at so high a pitch of glory, had yet some honest and gallant spirits, who thought the killing of a tyrant warrantable, at least not so great an evil as slavery. In

ENGLAND,

^a The PERSIANS generally put the title after the name, tho' EUROPEANS use it before and after indifferently.

^o These are of the feathers of black herons stuck into a tube, supported by a stand of precious stones.

1736. ENGLAND, there were numbers whose principles were untainted, and who saw the error which had been committed, in attempting to change the monarchy into a republican government: but in PERSIA, ignorance and want of foresight, with universal corruption of manners, prepared the necks of the people for the yoke to which they now submitted; and it was but a few years after, that they saw pyramids of human heads erected on that spot, where they chose their king^p.

NADIR being arrived at the summit of his ambition, began to exert that boundless authority with which he was invested; however, he tempered his natural fierceness and cruelty with some tokens of munificence: he entertained all the deputies of the people for three days, and treated them with great civility; among other shews and amusements in the camp, was that of shooting an arrow at a gold plate, which was fixed on a lofty pole; those who shot down the mark were to receive it as a reward of their skill, together with a coat of honour.

The motto, which he chose upon this occasion for his seal, was this:

“As the jewel was fallen out of the ring of fame and glory, so God
“has restored it in the name of NADIR.”

The coins which he caused to be struck had these inscriptions:

“NADIR king of kings, and glory of the age.”

Another was:

“Coins proclaim through the earth, the reign of NADIR, the king
“who conquers the world.”

The assembly were at length dismissed, to appearance very well satisfied; the priests only resented the death of their chief, the MULLAH NASHI, and the little regard which the new sovereign shewed to the national religious tenets: however, as he did nothing by halves, he was determined to pull off the mask. As soon as he arrived at CASBIN, whither he next directed his march, he convoked all the ecclesiastics of the city and neighbouring countries, and demanded of them in what
manner

manner the revenues of the church were employed; they answered, in the support of priests, colleges and mosques, in the last of which incessant prayers were offered to heaven for the success of the arms of their sovereigns: to which he replied to this effect: "It is certain that you have been very remiss in your duty, and that the Almighty is not pleased with the prayers of such men as you are. It is now near fifty years since the empire has been on the decline, and was at length plunged into the deepest misery, till the victorious instruments^a of the most wonderful, by exposing their lives for its defence and glory, have at length restored it. These are the priests to whose services we are indebted; therefore the revenues and lands of the church shall be appropriated to their support."

It is easy to imagine, what impressions the priests would receive from being plundered of all their revenues; but as much the greatest part of the army, particularly all the TARTARS, were of the sect of the SUNNIS, they treated their complaints with derision; whilst the people in general, apprehending that they should be relieved from their taxes, in proportion as the church revenues were applied to the support of the army, felt no great reluctance in submitting. Religion, indeed, seemed to be almost at the same low ebb as morality, or they never would have chosen NADIR KOULI for their king. He left the people however at their liberty, with regard to the support of priests at their own expence, but continued to exact a conformity to the SUNNIS, agreeably to what he had mentioned in the plains of MOGAN; and for this purpose he published the following edict:

The decree to unite the two sects of the SCHIAS and the SUNNIS, which divide the PERSIANS and the TURKS.

"All in high stations, the SEDR^b of great power, the governor, ministers of the law, and learned men of the royal residence of ISFAHAN, being

^a His army. ^b What these revenues amounted to, my authorities do not tell me. If it was one million sterling, it bears one fifth proportion to the whole revenue, according to the calculation in Vol II. page 27.

^c The *sepa* is a person of authority in the empire, who has the management of church lands, and of the revenues, for the maintenance of public schools, libraries to learned men, and other pious uses.

1736. " being exalted through the king's favour, shall know, that while the
 " abode of our ensigns, on which victory attends, was at MOGAN^a, it
 " was agreed, that according to the antient custom transmitted down to
 " us by our predecessors in the religion, as explained by HANIFA^b and
 " JAFFER^c, from henceforth we do acknowledge the directing Caliphs^d,
 " in whom the most high is well pleased, as the successors of the chief
 " of messengers^e; and that, whenever there is occasion for it, the peo-
 " ple shall mention the names of the four with great respect.

" But; whereas, in some places of these kingdoms, at the time of
 " calling to prayers, and standing up to pray, the people mention these
 " words, ALI, the friend of GOD^f, according to the usual practice of the
 " SCHIAS^g, but contrary to those who are of orthodox faith. This we
 " declare to be repugnant to the true religion, and contrary to the agree-
 " ment and covenant entered into. Besides, it is apparent to the world,
 " that as the prince of the faithful, the lion of GOD, the victorious^h, is
 " elect, praised, and acceptable to the Lord of glory; his rank and inter-
 " rest at the court of unity, will not be increased by vulgar testimony,
 " nor the full moon of his power diminished by the omission of these
 " words. But the ill consequence of this form is, that both sectsⁱ, who
 " equally acknowledge the chief and prophet^j of both worlds, are pro-
 " voked to animosities, which are offensive to the prophet, and to the
 " prince of the faithful^k. Therefore, as soon as this high edict is pro-
 " mulged, let all mussulmen, high and low, the callers to prayer in the
 " cities, their dependencies, and adjacent countries, know, that from
 " this day henceforth, these words^l, which differ from the orthodox
 " custom, shall not be mentioned. It is also usual with governors in
 " their assemblies, after their prefatory prayer^m, to say, may the king,
 " from

^a The plains where he was chosen king.
 famous for expounding the MAHOMMEDAN law.
 prophet, whose opinion the SUNNIS pay the greatest regard to.
 and ALI.

^b MAHOMMED.

^c HANIFA, one of the four TURKISH doctors.

^d JAFFER, one of the IMAMS or pro-

^e ABUBEKER, OMAR, OMAR,

^f It is always annexed by the SCHIAS to the
 KELMAH, viz. there is but one GOD, MAHOMMED is his prophet, and ALI his friend.

^g The sect of the PERSIANS.

^h MORTISA, ALI's titles.

ⁱ The SUNNIS and SCHIAS.

^j MAHOMMED.

^k MORTISA ALI.

^l ALI, the friend of GOD.

^m FATTANA

" from whom all our fortune flows, live for ever. As a prayer for 1736.
 " perpetuating a mortal man is vain, and of no effect, we command that
 " every KHAN¹, who is master of a drum^k and ensign, say it in this
 " manner, thanks to the true king for all benefits. From henceforward
 " let all persons observe these settled regulations and written orders: for,
 " whosoever deviates from them, will incur the displeasure of the king
 " of kings. Written in the month SAFER, 1149¹."

Whatever policy might induce NADIR to make a difference in the form of prayer, it seems to have betrayed him into an absurdity. He might apprehend his interest to be concerned in being acknowledged the " true king," yet his observation on perpetuating a mortal man, seems to be more vain, than the thing itself, which he calls so; since " living for ever," can only allude to immortality after death; or, according to the eastern manner, the longest period of life.

CHAP. XVI.

NADIR SHAH marches to CASBIN, and sends an ambassador to TURKEY.
 The grand signior's orders to ACHMED BASHA concerning peace. All the conquered provinces yielded up to PERSIA. NADIR SHAH marches to ISFAHAN. Great preparations for an expedition against KANDAHAR.

THO' it was impossible this edict could meet with universal approbation, we do not find that any remonstrances were made against it. However, it was a very politic step upon the whole, as it was not only contrived to avoid expensive and bloody wars with the TURKS, but also calculated to continue the diadem in his own family, who were well known to be SUNNIS; and according to the former constitution of

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and TOKBIR, is a prefatory prayer, which is generally the first chapter of the KORAN. TOKBIR is repeating three times these words, ALLAH, AKBAR, God is greater, before the KALMAH above mentioned

¹ I presume that the order extended to all persons to use this form.

^k TABAL, or small drum, which general officers ordinarily wear fixed to their saddles

1736. the empire, would otherwise find it as difficult to establish a lineal succession, as a roman-catholic prince in a protestant country.

NADIR, during his stay at CASBIN, took the usual oath, "To govern the people according to the laws of GOD, as revealed by his prophet MAHOMMED; and to protect and defend the PERSIANS against all their enemies." From hence he dispatched a minister to the OTTOMAN court, to acquaint them of his accession to the throne; he also ordered another to the court of ST. PETERSBURG for the same purpose. The empress of RUSSIA in return, ordered her resident in PERSIA to present her congratulations; and presuming that he had already made peace with the TURKS, she demanded what the conditions of it were, that she might see if there was any thing contrary to the treaty which she had lately concluded with the PERSIAN empire. NADIR still persisted, that he would enter into no accommodations with the TURKS injurious to the interest of her imperial majesty: that if his ministers had done any thing, it was without his orders; though, at the same time, the ambassador appointed for TURKEY was one of his prime counsellors and favourites.

On the other hand, the TURKISH ministry endeavoured to persuade the people, that in consideration of their yielding up all the conquered provinces, the PERSIANS would make a diversion in their favour against the RUSSIANS, who, during this interval, had made themselves masters of AZOPH. The grand signior, who feared NADIR when he was only general of the forces of PERSIA, was the more desirous of cultivating a good understanding with him, now that he was exalted to the throne of that empire.

It was already expected, that NADIR would turn his arms towards INDIA: but in the present situation of his affairs, it was by no means convenient to give either the RUSSIANS or the TURKS any cause to believe, that he meditated an enterprize against a country at so great a distance. The former had reason to complain of his conduct, in regard to his treaty with the TURKS; whilst these were compelled only by the necessity of their affairs, to submit to terms which they thought highly injurious

injurious to their honour and interest. Hence he judged it necessary to practise all his arts to prevent those resentments, which might have obstructed his favourite design. 1736.

The grand signior no sooner received notice of NADIR's being advanced to the throne of PERSIA, than he repeated his orders to ACHMED, BASHA of BAGDAT, to conclude the treaty at ERZEROU: on his part he sent GHENTCH ALI BASHA to that city; and the SHAH appointed ABDUL BAKI KHAN as his ambassador to CONSTANTINOPLE. The orders which ACHMED BASHA received from the OTTOMAN court were couched in the following terms:

"The most honoured and respected minister of the empire, most renowned, wise, and trusty counsellor, the most happy ACHMED BASHA, our SERASKIER and VIZIR in ASIA, whose fame and felicity is everlasting, shall know, That certain differences have happened between our sublime and exalted court, and the kingdom of PERSIA, which have been the cause of immense losses and sufferings to the inhabitants of the frontiers, inso much, that many districts are intirely ruined. As we are moved with the most tender compassion, and desirous to establish a lasting tranquillity, we have resolved to make these reciprocal losses the occasion of a strict friendship; thus to obey the orders of providence, and preserve the people from misery.

"We have already informed you of our design to enter into a convention with his renowned majesty the SHAH, who shines as SATURN, and whose vows are heard by the Almighty. The treaty made by our predecessor AMURATH the IVth. is proposed as the foundation of this convention. We have learnt from your letters, that the most famous and happy SHAH is disposed to reform the errors of the religion of PERSIA, and has agreed that several articles concerning the faith shall be inserted in the treaty. As the two courts have proposed to conclude this covenant, the illustrious ABDUL BAKI KHAN, on the part of the SHAH, is invested with the character of ambassador for this purpose. We agree to the three following articles:

"I, That

1736.

- I. That hence forward the PERSIANS shall be at liberty to visit the
 “ tomb of MECCA, and other religious places, without impediment,
 “ and shall be free of all duties whatsoever: and in order that
 “ every article shall be exactly observed, a plenipotentiary on our
 “ part shall always reside at the splendid court of ISFAHAN; and
 “ one on the behalf of the SHAH shall remain at our court,
- II. That the SHAH, as a pure effect of the greatness of his soul,
 “ will cause the differences in religion to cease, by abolishing the
 “ sect of the SCHIAS, and for the future tolerating only the SUNNIS,
 “ who acknowledge the four successors of MAHOMMED, ABUBEKER,
 “ OMAR, OSMAN, and ALI, to the end that there may not be any
 “ farther disputes about religion.
- III. After the SHAH shall have re-established good order in his do-
 “ minions, and extirpated the SCHIAS, from whence arose eternal
 “ disorders and disputes concerning the public exercise of religion,
 “ and shall have acknowledged us, the successor of MAHOMMED,
 “ we shall on our part acknowledge him as SHAH.

“ And notwithstanding that we have already given you this full power,
 “ we authorize you again happily to conclude the treaty with the em-
 “ bassador ABDUL BAKI KHAN, in the place which you shall chuse to
 “ make the exchange; and afterwards, you are to send the treaty to
 “ our splendid court by the vizir KORMAN WALEY, who will conduct
 “ the ambassador ABDUL BAKI KHAN, with all his attendants. For
 “ this purpose we have dispatched CAPIDUSI BASHA to conduct him
 “ hither, and defray his expences on the road.

“ When you shall have received the present, and comprehended the
 “ contents of this commission; above all exert yourself to establish a
 “ good understanding between the two courts. The prayers of the
 “ faithful will aid you in attaining the extirpation of the sect of the
 “ SCHIAS, and to exclude from the treaty the unbelieving RUSSIANS.
 “ By this means you may expect the exalted favour of our majesty, and
 “ the acknowledgment of all true believers. These are our orders, by
 “ which

"which you are to regulate yourself. Given the 8th of the month
 "ZILCHILDESI, 1148^m. I, CASI ASKER MAHOMMED, a servant of the
 "true God, do attest that this copy is according to the original of the
 "sultan." 1736.

The conferences at ERZEROUH still continued, and tho' the TURKS submitted to every thing which the SHAH seemed inclined to insist upon, yet nothing was finally determined; and ABDUL BAKI KHAN was ordered to proceed to CONSTANTINOPLE, where he continued to practise the arts of evasion, no doubt by the instruction of his master. The OTTOMAN court was extremely offended at this conduct; but as peace was absolutely necessary, near the close of the year the treaty was concluded. NADIR was acknowledged as sovereign of PERSIA; all the conquered provinces were yielded back to that empire; and a full permission was granted for the PERSIANS to visit the tomb of MAHOMMED. The last article was however of very little moment, since the true policy of the PERSIAN state was to prevent their subjects from making that pilgrimage.

In the mean while, NADIR marched with his army from CASBIN to ISFAHAN; with a view to settle the interior government of the empire. This was not the place which he desired most to favour; however, its situation with regard to the TURKS and the RUSSIANS, and some affectation of popularity, with respect to the antient metropolis of the empire, drew his attention. His natural inclination to avarice, turned his thoughts to the encouragement of commerce; in which, however, he had not the least skill, nor patience to see things brought to maturity. The interest of the ARMENIANS began to revive; the distinction of christian and MAHOMMEDAN was weakened, not only as a consequence of the confusion which had long reigned in PERSIA, but also as an effect of blending the two sects of the SUNNIS and SCHIAS. A careless indulgence, as well as a fierce persecution, seem equally destructive of true religion. Moral duties, and mutual confidences, are the natural effects of religion, and as essential to the encouragement of commerce, as to the support of a state in

1736. in general. What prospect then had the PERSIANS of a happy reign, under a man whose whole life had been guided by principles diametrically opposite to these duties ?

The insatiable avarice of the eunuchs and ministers of the weak and unfortunate HUSSEIN, had suffered many of the public buildings in ISFAHAN to fall to decay, and private houses were in no better condition ; the AFGHANS had not repaired them, nor was NADIR inclined to recommend any expence of that nature. The same passion of covetousness possessed his breast, as it had done those of the eunuchs in the former reign, though the objects they pursued were very different. However, he caused the walls to be repaired, and put the city in a better state of defence. He also made a distribution of several lands, in order to their cultivation, reserving to himself a considerable part of their produce. To those whom poverty had reduced to the lowest ebb, he caused grain to be given, also such small sums as were necessary to provide the utensils of husbandry. Thus he consulted, in some measure, what was essential to the support of the state ; but at the same time, the chief object of his care was the maintenance of his army.

Though the late campaign had been attended with such great success, yet the common accidents of war had lessened the number of his forces ; for which reason, he sent into all parts for recruits : this distressed the inhabitants in a double respect, as those fit to bear arms were the most proper for husbandry ; and the more his army was augmented, the greater necessity he was under for a large supply of money. Agriculture, manufactures, and commerce in general, had been declining very fast some years before the fatal invasion of the AFGHANS ; during their reign, the state was plunged still deeper in misery ; and, since their expulsion, scarce any thing had been heard but the din of war. There is something amazingly productive of satisfaction in the notion of conquest : every subject in a military government, is apt to raise himself in his own esteem, in proportion to the achievements and victories of his sovereign ; tho' such victories may be the very occasion of their misery. NADIR had
indeed

indeed made a rapid progress in his conquest; but this served only to delude the people with an imaginary felicity, no longer durable than the first transport of a tumultuous joy. 1736.

The sums which NADIR wanted for the prosecution of his designs were very considerable, and could not be collected without the utmost severity. He therefore sent his officers to all the cities and provinces in the empire, where money, provisions, horses, arms, or any of the implements of war could be procured; charging them to execute their commissions with the utmost dispatch, as the close of the year was appointed for his intended expedition.

It is reasonable to presume, that he had projected the conquest of the MOGHOL'S empire. What encouragement he had to expect success, we shall have occasion to relate. In the height of his victories over the TURKS, he would scarce have directed his arms a different way, without good assurance that this enterprize was practicable. He made, indeed, no other profession than that of subduing the AFGHANS of KANDAHAR; an undertaking by no means below his character as a great captain. PERSIA was delivered from the yoke of those people, but not revenged. Their invasion was considered as a rebellion, and as such ought to be chastised; nor were these people in themselves a contemptible enemy, either with regard to their numbers, their situation, or their bravery. HUSSEIN KHAN, the brother of MAGHMUD, who enjoyed the sovereignty of KANDAHAR, had refused to come into PERSIA at the summons which NADIR sent to him; and as he had put himself in a condition of defence, it was very plain he meant to support the independency of the AFGHANS.

After the conclusion of the peace with the TURKS, NADIR sent another ambassador to the grand signior, with several magnificent presents, among which was an elephant of a very extraordinary size. Having therefore nothing to apprehend from any of his neighbours; the end of this year he prepared to set out on his eastern expedition.

* MUHASSILS, or collectors of taxes, and other such kind of duty.

C H A P. XVII.

A succinct account of the incursion of the MAHARRATTAS; and the enmity between NIZAM AL MULUCK, governor of DECCAN, and DEVRAN KHAN, the first minister of MAHOMMED SHAH, emperor of HINDOSTAN, with the general state of his court from 1720 to 1736, preparatory to the expedition of NADIR SHAH into INDIA.

1736. **B**EFORE we enter upon a relation of the famous march of NADIR SHAH into INDIA, it may be proper to give a short account of the situation of affairs at that time in the MOGHOL'S empire.

In 1720, SULTAN IBRAHIM having rebelled against MAHOMMED SHAH, his general ABDALLAH KHAN took occasion to pillage the rich throne of the MOGHOL¹ of its diamonds, and raised a great army. This general was soon defeated, and taken prisoner²; the young sultan was confined, and the government seemed to be again established. Some time after, NIZAM AL MULUCK³, governor of DECCAN⁴, grown too powerful for a subject, could not be contained within the bounds of duty, but appropriated the revenues of his province towards the maintenance of an army, which he employed in subjecting the adjacent countries.

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¹ This throne was made by SHAH JESAN, and reported to have cost eleven millions sterling.

² This general died some months afterwards of his wounds, and it is remarkable that forty-five women of his wives, concubines, relations, and domestics, burnt themselves in one room, the day after his death. Formerly, none but the wives of the BRAHMINS or INDIAN priests had this barbarous privilege; but since the government has devolved upon the RAJAS, it has been often practised for some of the wives of princes and others to burn themselves when their husbands die. Some of these princes are independent of the MOGHOL, and govern distinct tribes, called RAJPOOTS, who are esteemed the best soldiers in INDIA. This custom of burning is strictly forbid by the MAHOMMEDAN, which is the established religion; but some of the SEYD and PATTAN families, through the mere force of pride fall into this custom; and, to evade the laws, set their apartments on flames, and thus destroy themselves. There is no compulsion to this sacrifice in any part of INDIA; but the minds of the people are so strongly tainted with an opinion of its being honourable to the surviving relations of the party, that money has been often given to obtain the consent of a governor for the liberty of destroying themselves.

³ This word signifies him who puts the empire in order.

⁴ It is sometimes wrote DEKHN.

He pretended to keep the MAHARRATTAS^c from making inroads into the dominions of the MOGHOL. These people had imposed a heavy tribute on their neighbours, and taken possession of several places of consequence. They made incursions as far as the province of MALVA; killed the governor, and seized all his treasures. From thence they directed their course to GUZURAT, the inhabitants of which they treated as a conquered people; after which they returned eastward as far as GUALIAR, laying the country under contribution: the peasants implored the protection of the emperor, and the whole court was under great alarms.

The GREAT MOGHOL therefore ordered an army to be provided; and DEVRAN KHAN^m, his first minister and also his vizir with several other OMRASⁿ, were appointed to command it. Instead of giving battle to the MAHARRATTAS, whose numbers were much inferior to the emperor's troops, they made a composition to pay a fourth part^o of the revenues of DEHLIE, on condition that they would retire, and lay down their arms. These lords then returned home in pursuit of their pleasures. The whole court was devoted to amusement, and appeared in some measure in the circumstances in which that of SHAH HUSSEIN had lately been, in PERSIA.

The pusillanimous conduct of these generals, was the occasion that BAJEERAU, at the head of his MAHARRATTAS, took up arms again the next year, notwithstanding the contribution agreed for had been punctually paid. They plundered many places, and intended to march as far as AKBAR ABAD^p. Upon this, DEVRAN KHAN and the vizir marched against them, a second time, and got up with them a little after they passed the river JUMNA, intending to penetrate the province^q of SAADIT KHAN. But this general having notice of their design, marched against them

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^c These people are sometimes called CANJES, they inhabit the sister INDIA.

^m He was the paymaster general of the empire, whom they call *BAHANSI*. ⁿ OMRAS is the plural of EMIR, signifying prince or great, a title given to persons of the first rank in INDIA, as already explained, this word is also wrote *UMERA*. ^o Thus they call *CIOT*, a tribute which has been often attempted to be imposed on the more peaceable INDIANS. ^p ACRA, this was formerly the capital.

^q Mr FRASER and Mr OTTER mention this as the province of AUDIH, which the former places beyond PANJAB, this must be a mistake, or the MAHARRATTAS must have travelled over a vast tract of country.

1736. them with a great force, and defeated them: DEVRAN KHAN and the vizir having joined SAADIT KHAN, pursued the MAHARRATTAS, who were intercepted by a strong body of MOGHOLS, and put to flight. The offence which SAADIT KHAN took at the compromise made by DEVRAN KHAN with these free-booters, together with the great opinion he had conceived of his own merit, were the chief occasion of his retiring to his province discontented.

In the mean time, MAHOMMED SHAH was not ignorant that NIZAM AL MULUCK was the real author of these disorders; which it would hardly be possible to prevent, unless he returned court. The emperor therefore sent him an invitation under the strongest assurances, not only of security to his person, but also that nothing should be wanting to give him pleasure. This man was the most distinguished for his abilities of any of the INDIAN lords: their cabals were the chief occasion of plunging the state into difficulties: he had often recommended the administration of justice as practised in the reigns of the former emperors, particularly that of his old master AURINGZEBE^a, but the unhappy situation of the court rendered his advice ineffectual, so that he retired to his government very much disgusted. He was irritated against DEVRAN KHAN and other OMRAS, who had acquired an ascendancy over the emperor, and crossed all the measures which he had proposed, whilst he saw the court abandoned to buffoons and loose women.

NIZAM AL MULUCK having been solicited to return to court, at length resolved to comply: but he left his son GHAZI O'DIN KHAN to command in his province. He did not acknowledge that he had favoured the incursions of the MAHARRATTAS; on the contrary, he declared that he had supported himself when the SEYDS^b would have taken his government from him, adding to this effect: "It pleased the Almighty that I
" baffled all their designs, in consequence of which I was misrepresented
" at court. Your majesty also, induced by their intrigues, intended to
" come against me with a mighty army, but heaven diverted the design,
" and

^a This prince died in 1707, after a happy reign of fifty lunar years.

^b HOSSAN ALI KHAN and ABDALLAH KHAN, who favoured the young SULTAN IDRIMIM already mentioned.

“and you did me the justice to believe me a faithful servant.” The credulous emperor persuaded of his integrity, would have made him his vizir, but he pleaded that he was a DERVEISH, and therefore not inclined to accept of so high a station; that there were many persons about the court more capable of executing so high an office, and consequently he desired to be excused.

This lord however met a very gracious reception, and was honoured with the title of ASOF JAH*. He soon discovered that things were not mended, that DEVKAN KHAN had his master's ear, and took pains to render him ridiculous: even in the emperor's presence he mentioned him with the highest mark of contempt, giving him the name of a cheat*. Such insolencies as this could not be relished by a man of his spirit: he at length declined coming to court, and secretly meditated revenge.

A true sense of humanity; and a right knowledge of mankind, can alone support us under such circumstances. If either of these is wanting, the corruption of the heart is apt to lead us to destroy those, who are the occasion of our humiliation. When the imagination is set at work, pride suggests a thousand expedients; and where power is added, what mischiefs will it not effect? But whilst the shaft is aimed at one, they forget that millions may feel the wound.

The vizir had made a double inter-marriage of his son and daughter, to the son and daughter of NIZAM AL MULUCK, from whence the latter hoped to establish an interest with him, in opposition to the other lords; and what he could not rectify by his counsels, to confound by his intrigues. The vizir however took the opposite party, and declined all violent measures, except such as gratified his own avarice. This enraged the haughty INDIAN so much the more; that rather than not gratify his private resentment, he resolved to use the arm of a foreign enemy. He knew that SAADIT KHAN, governor of AUDIH, was become a male-content

* ASOF JAH signifies in rank as ASOF, the name of him who is pretended to have been vizir to SOLOJON.

* MAIMOUNDGI. This word signifies a quack doctor or cheat, but here applicable to his cajoling address.

1736. tent as well as himself; he therefore entered into a secret correspondence with him, and it is said they both joined to inform NADIR SHAH of the state of affairs at the MOGHOL'S court.

Tho' it is granted, that NIZAM AL MULUCK might be actuated by a spirit of revenge, it seems to me highly probable that NADIR did not stand in need of such instruments, for the execution of his ambitious designs. It can hardly be imagined, that he was ignorant of the general state of affairs in that empire, or of the immense riches possessed by the MOGHOL. He knew also the valour of his own troops, and the effeminacy of the INDIANS: how easy is it then to believe, that a project of this nature might be formed by so ambitious a man, whose necessities for the support of his army would tempt him to a desperate enterprize?

But it is not my business as an historian to enter very deep into the more secret springs of his conduct, which can be determined only by consequences, and of these every reader ought to be permitted to judge; where the causes of events cannot be clearly traced out, the mind may exercise its faculty, in passing that judgment which seems most consistent.

It appears to me, that tho' NADIR had the wisdom to keep his own counsel, he had taken the resolution of marching into INDIA, in that exultation of heart, which arose from his great success against the TURKS. The war, in which they were already engaged with the RUSSIANS, was certainly an additional reason of his carrying this design into execution.

Having resolved upon this expedition, he nominated his son RIZA KOULI MYRZA regent of PERSIA. This young man had already given several marks of a genius very like his father's, so that from a similarity of disposition NADIR added the affection of a friend to paternal love, and flattered himself into a belief, that the government would be secure in his son's hands.

His father being now declared king, the title of MYRZA or prince of course belongs to the son; and by this name we shall hereafter call him.

CHAP. XVIII.

Reflexions on the different character of ALEXANDER the GREAT and NADIR SHAH. Moral considerations on false glory. Motives to ALEXANDER and NADIR's invading INDIA. NADIR leaves ISFAHAN in DECEMBER 1736. Conduct of HUSSEIN KHAN, governor of KANDAHAR, and of the AFGHANS. RIZA KOULI MYRZA subdues the OUSBEGS of BALKH and BOKHARA. His indiscreet conduct in PERSIA. INDIAN lords correspond with NADIR.

IN reviewing the expedition of NADIR SHAH into INDIA, the detail of which contains the most memorable part of this history, the reader will indulge the inclination, to which the subject naturally leads me, of making some comparison between this enterprize, and that of the celebrated, MACEDONIAN hero. It evidently appears, that these ravagers of the eastern world, ALEXANDER and NADIR, were actuated by the same predominant passion; an unbounded desire of conquest: ALEXANDER indeed had the strongest desire of fame and glory; NADIR added to his delight in military achievements, an insatiable thirst of accumulating riches. The one reigned by right of birth; the other by an usurped power; a power which could not be supported without a great military force, nor that force without great treasures.

As an ordinary effect of their intrepidity and rapid conquests, both were the idols of their soldiers; till NADIR became cruel and avaricious. ALEXANDER was most beloved; NADIR most feared. The one affected a love to mankind; the other did not so much as pretend to act upon principles of humanity. Both appear to us as objects of terror and astonishment; but whilst some mixture of love or compassion is due to ALEXANDER's memory; NADIR can only excite our hatred. The one had a real generosity in his nature, and a nobleness of sentiment, cultivated by a liberal education; the other, tho' superior in natural parts, was cunning, deceitful, and illiterate.

1736.

HAD ALEXANDER been born to an humble fortune, perhaps he might have given greater proofs of true heroism, than as a mighty prince and conqueror; his heart was formed to a love of virtue, but not in a degree equal to his power. Though he was not cruel, he killed his intimate friend^f; though continent^g, he burnt a city^h to please a strumpet. Is it a virtue to distress mankind! A conduct so injurious as his, may entitle him to the fame of a conqueror, but not of a hero. NADIR himself had qualities, which are sometimes called virtues; yet we are sure that no prince, without renouncing humanity, can be in love with such a character; nor can future ages produce an imitator, without exhibiting a picture shaded with gloom and horror.

Human nature in all ages and countries is the same; but the secret causes by which one man differs so much from another, are not so apparent as the effects of different educations. There are few countries which have not had their ALEXANDERS or their NADIRS; men actuated by a certain heroic spirit of military enthusiasm; confounding all the rules of morality and religion; exerting a boundless power of doing mischief; committing actions as much superior to the comprehension of vulgar minds, as contradictory to all the precepts of true philosophy; and, in short, proving by one constant pursuit, that the corruption of human nature may carry mankind much farther to do evil, by the subserviency of others as wicked, tho' not so brave as themselves, than all the principles of virtue can lead us to do good, for want of virtuous instruments.

If we look back to past ages, we find the world distressed by men of this stamp, under the specious name of conquest. How intoxicating is the love of fame in the breast of a prince, turned to war! whose genius is peculiarly military. The vain boast of triumphs seems to divert them from all thoughts of mortality, and tempts them to deify themselves in their own esteem. Amidst the din of war, a true sense of humanity is confounded, and heaven itself appears amiable only in its thunder.

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^f CLITUS.^g With respect to the wife of DARIUS.^h PERSEPOLIS.

The natural greatness of the mind in men born to empire, seems to find no object adequate to it, except in conquest and power. Men of understanding indeed discover the delusion; age and experience opens their eyes, and brings them down to the level of other mortals; it convinces them that the exercise of reason, in whatever station heaven has placed us, is the only solid glory: this passion for conquest will then appear in its true garb of distress and horror. Religion steps in to unveil this pretender; and by shewing us what the rule of the divine administration is, opens a scene of real and transcendent joys, which carries up the mind to the true source of greatness.

What just reason can be assigned for the invasion of INDIA by ALEXANDER? Tho' his conquest of DARIUS may be censured by historians as rash and extravagant, as unguided by experience, and unsupported by wisdom; yet if we consider the events previous to it, we shall find his conduct correspondent with the rule of princes in later ages. The expedition of XERXES, and other attempts made by the PERSIANS to enslave the GRECIAN republics, could not be easily forgotten. To prevent any future design of the same nature, was to take the first favourable opportunity of humbling the PERSIANS. There was no other way to silence their scruples, to gratify their jealousy, nor to appease their resentment.

The PERSIAN monarchy in the reign of DARIUS began to sink, in some measure, under its own weight. Wealth had created luxury; luxury, corruption; both these contributed to the disunion and effeminacy of the people, and rendered them an easy conquest. If the unhappy circumstances of PERSIA at that time, were a concomitant motive to ALEXANDER's invasion, it did not invalidate the stronger reasons of self-preservation.

NADIR had been less criminal, if the same motives had carried him into INDIA; but his expedition was certainly founded as much in avarice as ambition, or a fond notion of glory.

It is now two thousand and eighty-six years since ALEXANDER made his expedition into INDIA. Will the fame of NADIR last so long? The

1736. arts and learning of GREECE, afforded the means of transmitting down the feats of the MACEDONIAN hero in a clearer manner, than the lights we receive from PERSIA under her present circumstances, even in regard to what happened but as yesterday. Some events however may be traced out, and afford that sort of pleasure, which the mind feels in the contemplation of objects of terror, whilst we enjoy, in a calm repose, all the transporting charms of liberty, and all the happy effects of a well regulated government.

About the end of DECEMBER 1736, NADIR SHAH began his march with eighty thousand men, of which the greatest part were cavalry. In a short time he was followed by a body of near thirty thousand men, under the command of TÆHMAS KHAN, his lieutenant. The shortest rout to KANDAHAR would have been by KHERMAN; but it was hardly possible that so vast an army could be supported in a barren and desolate country: he therefore marched towards CASBIN^k, from whence he directed his course through KHORASAN; but we have no particular mention of him afterwards, till his arrival near KANDAHAR.

We have already given a short account^l of this province, the source of those numerous calamities in which PERSIA was involved. What reputation the inhabitants had acquired as warriors, has also appeared in the course of this narrative. HUSSEIN KHAN, the brother of MAGHMUD, who was murdered by ASHREFF, commanded in this place; he was a soldier of approved resolution, and actuated not only by the ambition of remaining independent, but also by the hopes of revenging himself of the PERSIANS for the slaughter of his countrymen. He strengthened his alliance with the TARTARS of BALKH and SAMARCAND, and also with the several princes of the mountains, who were in hopes of screening themselves from the tyranny of the PERSIAN yoke. The force he had collected is said to have been above thirty thousand men; and the quantity of provisions laid into the city of KANDAHAR was sufficient for a very long siege.

The

^l VEKIL OF VEKEEL.

^k Some accounts mention his going by the way of KHERMAN, which is very natural to suppose, had that rout been practicable to a great army.

^l Vol. III.

The KHAN, however, did not chuse to shut himself up immediately within walls, but determined to try if he could not stop the progress of so mighty an army, conducted by so experienced a general. The great reputation of NADIR did not intimidate those brave mountaineers the AFGHANS, who had so often triumphed over the PERSIANS. HUSSEIN KHAN therefore marched a large body of his men to the banks of a river, which is a branch of the HINDMEND, there to dispute the passage. They supported themselves for some time, but at length were obliged to retire, after the loss of near two thousand men. NADIR then advanced, in order to invest KANDAHAR. As he had no heavy artillery with him, it was impossible he should reduce a fortification so advantageously situated, by any other means than by famine, he determined therefore only to blockade it.

HUSSEIN KHAN was not insensible of his danger, he offered to acknowledge NADIR's sovereignty, and as a tributary prince to pay him homage, on condition he would retire to HERAT without committing any further hostilities. This was too mean an object for NADIR's ambition: their terms not being accepted, the besieged resolved to try the fortune of the arms. This extraordinary siege lasted till the close of the year. In the interim, the garrison made many sallies, which cost much blood on both sides: one in particular, about the beginning of AUGUST, with the greatest part of the AFGHAN troops, who attacked the PERSIANS with such impetuosity, that it was with the utmost difficulty they stood the shock.

NADIR caused a number of houses to be built here, as he had done before at BAGDAT; assuring HUSSEIN KHAN, that he would decamp till he had taken the place. The communication with PERSIA was supported, by means of the numerous detachments which were sent to scour the country. In the interim, TAEHMAS KHAN, his lieutenant, arrived with a reinforcement of thirty thousand men, so that he was in a condition to disperse all the flying parties which had incommoded his camp.

It is remarkable, that in the several sallies made by the AFGHANS, they took a great number of horses belonging to the PERSIANS, and carried

1738. and his son fell a sacrifice, though their valour seemed to have deserved a better fate. The conquest of this place put the PERSIAN king in possession of a considerable treasure, with a great value in jewels, arms, cloathing, and provisions. The former had been shut up in vaults ever since the reign of BAHR SHAH the GREAT MOGHOL; and were now of the greater consequence to NADIR, as they enabled him to pay his army. Besides, this was an earnest of the vast acquisitions his soldiers must certainly make, if they succeeded in the enterprize, which it was now apparent their king had resolved on.

C H A P. XIX.

The news of the taking of CABUL arrives at DEHLIE. Measures taken to oppose the PERSIAN army. Jealousy between NIZAM AL MULUCK and DEVRAN KHAN. NADIR sends an embassy and writes to MAHOMMED SHAH. The difficulty which NADIR encounters in going from CABUL to the banks of the INDUS. PEISHOR taken. ZEKARIAH KHAN, governor of LAHOR, acquaints the court of his situation. The INDIAN army marches to KARNAL.

WHEN the news of the taking of CABUL arrived at the court of the GREAT MOGHOL, this prince with all his lords were thoroughly alarmed, and determined that there was no time to lose in assembling an army to oppose the PERSIANS. What added to the terror of the court, were the advices of RAJAH * TCHI SENGUE, who commanded a body of warlike people † about CASHMIR ‡. This prince being entirely in the interest of DEVRAN KHAN, acquainted him, “ That the enterprize “ of NADIR SHAH had for some time appeared to him, as a step con-

“ certified

* This is the title given to the feudatory INDIAN princes and are esteemed the best soldiers in INDIA There are several tribes of them subject to the RAJAS, of whom some are independent of the MOGHOL
 † These are called RAJPOOTS,
 ‡ CASHMIR, or as it is wrote CISHMIR and KICHEMIR, is bordered by LAHOR, TEBET, and BIDDUKSHAN, and is represented as a most delightful and fruitful country The mountains with which these people are surrounded are so strong a fortification, that, according to the TURKISH writers, hardly any of the eastern ravagers have penetrated into their country They never felt any of the calamities which GINGHIZ KHAN, the

“certed with some of the lords^a of the MOGHOL’s court; therefore he
 “must be on his guard; that SHERZIH KHAN was already fallen a sacri- 1738.
 “fice to his fidelity, and that NACIR KHAN had deserted his province
 “and fled to PEISHOR: at the same time he offered his service to join
 “the royal ensigns, and recommended to DEVRAN KHAN to undertake
 “the command of the imperial army, whilst ZEKARIAH KHAN did
 “his utmost to oppose the progress of the enemy through LAHOR.”

DEVRAN KHAN was sensible of the fidelity of this prince, and saw that nothing but military force could save the capital from plunder, or prevent all the fatal consequences of war, against so formidable an enemy as NADIR. He therefore represented to the sultan, the necessity of marching in person at the head of his army, as far as LAHOR, where he might join the KHANS ZEKARIAH and NACIR. This advice was approved by NIZAM AL MULUCK, who pressed the execution of it, and to shew a greater tenderness for the emperor, he added that his majesty ought not to expose his person, but to stop at LAHOR, whilst himself, and the other chiefs, advanced with the army towards CABUL, to give the enemy battle.

The royal tents^b, with all the parade of an INDIAN monarch, were ordered to the gardens of SHALIMAR, a small distance from DEHLIE. The GREAT MOGHOL himself was upon his departure, when DEVRAN KHAN, to the surprize of the whole court, gave orders to suspend the intended expedition. This to all appearance arose either from his jealousy that NIZAM AL MULUCK was in correspondency with the enemy, or from his contempt of the counsels of a man whom he abhorred. But such

was

the great TURKUMAN conqueror, spread over the east. Their capital is called SERINEHER and the river which passes through their country is very considerable, and communicates with the TCHENHAY above MULTAN. The inhabitants of this country are also remarkable for their vivacity, and the beauty of their persons. The delicacy of their climate might naturally incline them to voluptuousness; but they live much according to nature, their pleasures being for the most part innocent and simple, they love dancing and musick, and drink wine in moderation, they are idolaters of the religion of the MAGI, and many of them given to devotion and mortification. They are remarkable for the manufacture of the fine shawls, in so great use all over the east.

^a There are several of these MOGHOL OMRAS who are TARTARS and PERSIANS by extraction and who seemed now to be the greatest objects of the jealousy of the RAJA. ^b PEISHOR KHANNA is the term given to the royal tents and the appendages in INDIA.

1738. was the disunion of that court, on whom the unhappy INDIANS depended at this time for their safety.

NIZAM AL MULUCK being informed of so unexpected a change of counsels, returned to court, and renewed his intreaties, that the army might march to LAHOR: but the discord which reigned among the chiefs, confounded all their measures. The officers, who knew that DEVVRAN KHAN was devoted to the interest of their master the GREAT MOGHOL, paid an implicit obedience to him, in all the expedients he tried to obstruct the expedition. Thus it was difficult to determine, whether DEVVRAN KHAN did not act more like an open traitor, than NIZAM AL MULUCK as a secret one.

NADIR having made himself master of CABUL, disguised his future designs under the cloak of friendship. For this purpose, he sent an ambassador with a letter to MAHOMMED SHAH the INDIAN emperor. The contents are as follows:

"Be it clear to the enlightened mind of your high majesty, that my taking CABUL is entirely out of zeal for religion, and friendship for you. I never imagined that a king of mussulmen would be tributary to the wretches of DECCAN^d. My stay on this side the INDUS, is with a design, that when these infidels shall move again towards HINDOSTAN^e, I may send a victorious army to drive them to the abyss of hell.

"History abounds in proofs of the friendship which have subsisted between our kings and your majesty's royal predecessors. And now, by MORTISA ALI I swear, that I neither had, nor yet have any other view, than to express my friendship, and shew my concern for religion. I always was, and will be a friend to your illustrious house, whatever suspicions you may entertain to the contrary."

It

^a This he calls ISLAM, by which is meant safety, and here the word is meant to denote the MAHOMMEDAN religion.

^d The MAHARRATTAS, whom I have already mentioned as the chief disturbers of the MOGHOL'S empire. These people are idolaters, and were at this time very powerful.

^e This river is called ATROK, which is the name given by the ORIENTALS to the upper part of the INDUS.

^f The empire in general is called HINDOSTAN, but here more peculiarly applicable to the province of DELHI.

It is very hard to reconcile the contents of this letter upon any principle of common probity; but this indeed was what NADIR had the least pretensions to. 1738.

Though we have observed that CABUL is the key of the western and northern parts of INDIA, there is a considerable tract of country between that city and the INDUS, which has been generally considered as the barrier. The cheapest and most practicable method for the execution of NADIR's designs, was to cultivate a good understanding with the people of those quarters. The SAKIS, a tribe of PATTANS, in that country, are remarkable for their valour, and might have given him great trouble. He therefore entered into an alliance with them, making part of the plunder of CABUL the price of their friendship.

His next step was to engage in his interest NACIR KHAN, who was at PEISHOR. Tho' this chief had not the courage to remain in or near CABUL, the frontier town of his district; yet he was not totally intimidated. The court sent him no supply of troops, but assisted him with a remittance of forty lacks of rupees; by means of this sum he might raise forces to join the PATTANS of that province, and oppose the enemy. In expectation therefore of further reinforcements from DEHLIE, he levied men, and prepared to fight the PERSIANS.

NADIR having left a strong garrison in CABUL, sent several messiges to NACIR KHAN, to invite him to a submission; and then continued his march towards PEISHOR. Passing the BEHAT, and the cou¹, he advanced into the narrow defiles, which cover that province. Here several INDIAN princes assembled their troops, cutting down trees, breaking up roads, and using other inventions to obstruct his march. The frequent attacks of these mountaineers, incommoded him for near a whole month, during which space he lost a considerable number of men.

1738. Those, who are versed in military affairs, know that it is difficult for an army to pass thro' defiles, even when there is no enemy to oppose it; but a long tract of mountainous country, inhabited by people accustomed to arms, must expose the most formidable body of troops to great danger. NADIR was at length obliged to enter into a treaty with their chiefs: he declared that he meant them no harm; and represented to them that they were certainly enemies to their own interest, by appearing in arms against him, when he was ready to receive them under his protection, to make them presents, and even to engage them in his pay, that they might share his fortune in the war.

It was a favourable circumstance to NADIR, that the INDIAN court had kept these mountaineers in arrears for their pay. All the ordinary moluments^k, which were wont to be allowed them, the corruption of the MOGHOL'S ministers had with-held during four years. The governors of the neighbouring provinces had deserted their posts, or neglected to arm themselves in a manner suitable to the occasion. Under these circumstances, these people listened to NADIR'S propositions, and at length not only opened a free passage to him, but numbers of them enlisted themselves in his army, insomuch that it soon became as strong as when he left KANDAHAR. The SAFIS in particular, after they had joined the PERSIANS, conducted NADIR the safest and shortest way to PEISHOR.

It is natural to conclude, that the PERSIAN king expected that such acts of hostility would alarm the INDIAN court, and not only occasion the greater preparations to oppose him, but probably induce them to remove a great part of their riches. Whatever his motive might be, he sent another embassy to the GREAT MOGHOL. MAHOMMED KHAN, TURKUMAN^l, was chosen for this purpose, and dispatched in the month of AUGUST, with offers of friendship, and to demand the sum of

^k The revenues of this mountainous country being insufficient to maintain a body of troops able to guard the frontiers, a certain sum of money was appointed to be annually remitted them, but of late years it had been neglected.

^l The same may be observed here of TURKUMAN as before of BALUCHES, viz. that these officers are distinguished by their countries.

of four crores¹, and four provinces^m; as, if NADIR by this means intended to enter into a composition, or to render the refusal a more specious pretence for further hostilities.

PEISHOR not lying directly in the rout, NADIR left the main body of his army, and marched with a detachment of cavalry towards that city. NACIR KHAN had collected a body of troops, but few of them had any experience: the greatest part not suspecting that the PERSIAN army could have passed the defiles with such expedition, deserted upon the approach of the enemy. NACIR was thus left in the neighbourhood of PEISHOR, with seven thousand men only; however, he caused an intrenchment to be thrown up, and with this small body he made a gallant defence for some hours; but the PERSIANS at length forced his lines. Most of those who escaped the sword, were taken prisoners. The neighbouring PATTANS being now disposed to court the friendship of NADIR, delivered up into his hand NACIR KHAN, who fled from PEISHOR. The proof this general had given of bravery and fidelity, under such great disadvantages, engaged the esteem of NADIR. He imprisoned him for some days, but afterwards promised him that protection which he had not received from the MOGHOL's court, and by threats and fair words he won this brave man to his interest.

The effect of this victory was the taking of PEISHOR, which NADIR soon after entered in triumph. Nothing is said concerning the riches of this city, tho' we must assign some proportion of wealth to it, since it is represented of considerable extent, and the capital of a province.

On the news that PEISHOR was taken, and that NADIR SHAH was preparing to pass the INDUS, the MOGHOL's court, already in great disorder, was struck with terror. From PEISHOR to DEHLIE is 450 milesⁿ. In this distance are several rivers and difficult passes, which it was expected would retard the march of the PERSIAN army. The court was also flattered with hopes that ZEKARIAH KHAN, the governor of LAHOR, would

¹ A crore is 100 lacks, or 1,250 000 L., consequently this demand was for five millions sterling

^m These the INDIANS call SOUBAUS. SOUBAUDAR is often used as governor or lieutenant of a province.

ⁿ They reckon it 202 fols, each fols of 4000 yards, or 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles.

C H A P. XX.

NADIR's *pomp when he entered the INDIAN territories. His manner of passing rivers. Short account of the INDUS: NADIR passes this river. JEMINABAD and LAHOR taken. NADIR arrives on the plains of KARNAL.*

1738. **V**ICTORY seemed now to court the ambitious NADIR: elated with the hopes of giving laws to this vast empire, he affected a more than common state.

COSSEM KHAN was his ATHEMAT DOULET^m: he, with the ARRIZ-BEGI^s, were the persons through whom most of the orders were given, and petitions preferred. NADIR's sentences, as at other times, were very summary, and his business dispatched in a short time. He required information of every thing that passed, and observed a strict administration of justice: he attended business very regularly, sitting in his tent of audience till noon, and after reposing himself a short time, he returned again, and remained there till the evening. His CHIAUX^v were kept to their duty more than usual, to proclaim his victories as he passed along; besides these and his great officers of state, a considerable number of young men with standards of red silk adorned with silver, were ordered to attend upon extraordinary occasions.

The great preparations which were making at the MOGHOL's court to oppose his progress, seemed to give him no sort of concern. On the contrary, he prepared himself to receive the homage of the INDIAN lords, and first of ZEKARIAH KHAN, the governor of LAHOR. After establishing a garrison at PEISHOR, he advanced to the banks of the INDUS, where
1739. he arrived the beginning of JANUARY. He had already taken his mea-

At length, after slow marches, and receiving several reinforcements on the road, they pitched their tents in the plains of KARNAL, fifty-five leagues from the capital. The young prince, SULTAN ACHMED, had an equipage prepared for him with great pomp and splendor, and was appointed commander of the van guard ¹.

The circuit of the camp was very large ², fortified with intrenchments, and a great part of it strengthened with artillery. In the center were the emperor's own quarters ³; those of NIZAM AL MULUCK fronted them; and under him was the particular ordnance of the court, and the train belonging to it. On the right wing was DEVRAJ KHAN, the prime minister, with five other lords under his command; KUMMIR O'DIN ⁴ KHAN, with three OMRAS, commanded on the left; behind these were many general officers, whose names would rather confound than delight the reader, and among them were the JAATS and AHEERS ⁵. Though the sovereign commanded in person, yet each lord seemed to be uncontrollable with regard to the respective body under him.

NIZAM AL MULUCK, instead of taking pains to encourage his soldiers, represented the valour and fortune of the PERSIAN king as irresistible. It is probable, that the inexperience of the INDIANS in the art of war, must in any case have rendered them inferior to the veteran soldiers of NADIR SHAH; but if we consider the unhappy situation of this numerous army, it seemed to be collected only for the derision of the PERSIANS.

¹ They call this the HAROL, which signifies either the van guard, or the title of the officer that commands any body of so ces, which advances at the head of an INDIAN army.

² Some writers mention it as twelve miles, but we cannot suppose they made intrenchments so far, or that they could defend so vast a circuit.

³ These are called MOVAHA, which signifies either barricadoes or intrenchments, from whence we may infer he had a particular intrenchment within the main circuit of the camp.

⁴ These words signify the moon of religion. This person was the vizir to the GREAT MOGOL.

⁵ These are two different tribes of the RAJPOOTS.

C H A P. XX.

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sures

^v See Vol. III. page 41. Signifies supporter of power, or as some construe it, the security of fortune, this is the same person whom I have mentioned in Vol. I. page 258. This man was also honoured with the title of NAZEM MUNAZEM, or him who sets things in order, and MOTHIR AL MULUCK, or worthy of a kingdom.

^{*} The presenter of petitions.

[†] The 900

guards mentioned in Vol. I. page 251.

tures for the passage of that river. MAHOMMED BEG ^a, was previously 1739. detached with a considerable body of troops, to build a sufficient number of boats, by means of which he might throw a bridge over the river. NADIR's ordinary method was to use two iron-chains ^a, to which he fixed the skins of beasts blown up; these floating upon the surface, supported the several parts of a small bridge of timber, which he carried with him. This chain being secured on both sides of a river, served also to hold a regular bridge of boats.

The INDUS of the antients, now more generally denominated the SCIND, is one of the most considerable rivers in all ASIA: in INDIA only the GANGES exceeds it. In this place it divides the provinces of LAHOR and PEISHOR, and is commonly called the ATTOK, from a great fort on the eastern side. It is subject, like the NILE, to be overflowed, and like that is one great cause of the fertility of its banks, here are also numbers of crocodiles. Its course from north to south is computed to be 900 miles ^b, or forty-two days journey. The several branches of it take different names; the chief of which are the SHOUB or SIELMEQUS ^c, the SHANTROU ^d, the RAVI ^e, and the VIAH ^f; thus forming five streams: the province of LAHOR is for that reason called PENGAB ^g, and is one of the most fertile countries in HINDOSTAN.

ZEKARIAH KHAN did not attempt to oppose the PERSIAN army at their passage of the ATTOK. His real design was to submit, agreeably to the counsel he had received from NIZAM AL MULUCK; however, to save appearances, he made preparations for a defence. NADIR marched directly

1739. directly to YEMINABAD, a city of some note in the jurisdiction of ZEKARIAH KHAN. Here KULLINDER KHAN commanded with a body of ten thousand men, designing to oppose the PERSIANS. NACIR KHAN, who now had a post in NADIR's army, was entrusted with the attack of this city, which the PERSIANS took, and killed the INDIAN general. NADIR had sent to ZEKARIAH KHAN to invite him to a submission; the messenger was called before the general divan, and treated with some incivility. This however was but an effect of policy to disguise his resolution to surrender. He then marched out, and advanced above twenty miles from LAHOR, with an army of twenty thousand men. As soon as he heard the fate of YEMINABAD, he retreated back immediately to the capital of the province. Here he made a shew of defence, but after three days capitulated, on condition that the city should be spared.

This is the country of which PORUS was king, when ALEXANDER made his memorable expedition into INDIA. The neighbouring provinces were then ruled by their respective sovereigns, as we now find them divided by the jealousy and corruption of their chiefs. The scene of his first exploits in INDIA was on the banks of the GURÆUS¹, which he passed. The eastern side of this part of the INDUS was called TAXILA. Here we find that MOPHIS, king of the country, submitted to ALEXANDER, who confirmed this INDIAN prince in his dominion, or in other words, did not commit any violence or injustice towards him. As an effect of the generosity of the GRECIAN-hero, MOPHIS received the name of TAXILES. What future ages may think of modern histories, I am no judge; but there are numerous circumstances in antient accounts, even in authors of the highest reputation, which appear as the fumes of superstition or the creatures of fancy: we must not however be ingenious to undeceive ourselves in things of an indifferent nature, so long as they give us pleasure. We know how hard it is to come at the truth of things which happened yesterday.

PORUS, the sovereign of LAHOR, was exceeded by the skill and fortune, rather than by the valour of the MACEDONIAN conqueror; he led on his

¹ This is called at present NILAB, being the upper part of the INDUS.

his chariots of war and embattled elephants, disdaining to yield. In 1739. this he seems to have judged ill; if he had sacrificed to the pride of the GRECIAN instead of his own, and only paid the tribute of a formal submission, he might probably have saved the lives of twenty-three thousand INDIANS, who are said to have died that day in defence of their liberty. Under the notion of clemency, ALEXANDER then restored to him the kingdom which he could not keep; nor was there one good reason why he conquered it. The only true beneficent action he did, was to reconcile TAXILES and PORUS.

After subduing PERSIA, and all the country as far as this place, his soldiers, happily for the INDIANS, were at length tired of their knight-errantry, and insisted upon returning home; he therefore made this the boundary of his victory in the east, though he had designed to march as far as the GANGES. He returned to BABYLON with the name of a conqueror, tho' with much less treasure than NADIR SHAH. In his way home he subdued all the country on the banks of the INDUS. He sent part of his forces in ships down that river into the INDIAN ocean; from whence they entered the gulph of PERSIA, and directing their course up the TIGRIS, arrived at BABYLON. Those, who marched by land, crossed SABLESTAN and SEGESTAN, not without several encounters with the inhabitants of those countries, in which much blood was spilt. Thence traversing PERSIA^k, which owned the conqueror, after a perilous and laborious march he arrived at the seat of his empire, having been absent twenty months.

NADIR remained at LAHOR eight days, and refreshed his army in the gardens of SHALIMAR^l, he then passed the river SHOUL, and traversing SERHIND and TANISSEER, he arrived with forty thousand men in the neighbourhood of a village called TILLAUVERI, which is not far from the plains of KARNAL. Here he halted to reconnoitre the situation of the INDIAN army, and determine what measures to pursue. After a march of twenty-five months for eighteen hundred and fifty miles^m, he was al-

X 2

most

^k Now FARSI-STAN.^l These gardens are of the same name as those of DEHLIE^m This computation is from ISFAHAN, viz. from that city to KANDAHAR is reckoned 1040 miles, and from thence to DEHLIE 310.

1739. most arrived at the fruition of the desired object. It was not difficult in a general of common sagacity to foresee, that so vast a multitude of people would not be able to support themselves long in that situation; and they must either disperse, or come to an engagement.

CHAP. XXI.

The number of the PERSIAN army. SAADIT KHAN arrives at the INDIAN camp. He and DEVRAN KHAN begin the engagement. NADIR's stratagem to draw the INDIANS to battle. SAADIT KHAN taken prisoner, and DEVRAN KHAN mortally wounded. NADIR's manner of opposing the INDIAN elephants. Loss of the INDIANS in the field. Distress of the INDIAN camp after the battle. Interview between NADIR and NIZAM AL MULUCK, also between the PERSIAN king and the GREAT MOGHOL. Numbers of the INDIANS slain in marauding. MAHOMMED SHAH delivers himself into the hands of NADIR. INDIAN effects sealed up in DEHLIE.

NADIR was now within ten miles of the INDIAN army. On the 12th of FEBRUARY he dispatched HAHDGEE KHAN with his advanced guard^a, consisting of six thousand of the best troops of KOURDISTAN. His whole army amounted to near one hundred and sixty thousand men, of which a third part were servants and domestics: these having collected a sufficient number of camels, horses^c, and mules in their rout, were all mounted, and some of them completely armed. Their women, being not less than six thousand, were dressed with great coats^d of crimson cloth, after the manner of the men, and not to be distin-

^a KOURROL, which is the same as the HARROL of the INDIANS.

^c There are in the highland country of KANDAHAR and CABUL a small kind of horses called YABOUS, which are very serviceable.

^d These are called BARRANS; BARRAN signifies rain, from whence the name of this coat is derived.

distinguished at a distance; so that the whole made a very formidable appearance. 1733

NADIR finding the water at TILLAUVERI insufficient to supply his soldiers, advanced two miles nearer the INDIAN army; and the 14th of FEBRUARY he encamped not far from the rear of DEVRAN KHAN, at a time when SAADIT KHAN was just arrived in the camp of the GREAT MOGHOL, with a reinforcement of twenty thousand men. Whatever the nature of SAADIT's treason might have been, as soon as he saw his fellow-soldiers in distress for provisions, and ready to be over-whelmed by a powerful and fortunate army, the impulse of his heart carried him instantly to the tent of MAHOMMED SHAH, and with the freedom of a soldier he told his sovereign, that there was no time to be lost in giving battle to the PERSIANS; that if the other generals refused to follow him, he would commence the attack with such part of his troops as were come up; desiring rather to die sword in hand, than fall ingloriously into the power of an enemy through the necessity of hunger.

NIZAM AL MULUCK, who seemed never to have intended to bring things to the extremity of a battle, opposed this counsel; pretending, according to the superstition of the MAHOMMEDANS, that the day was not fortunate; and as there was no necessity, they ought to defer it. SAADIT KHAN, though suspected of being leagued with this treacherous minister, had too much ardour as a soldier to be restrained by any such consideration.

In the mean while, the six thousand KOURDS detached by NADIR SHAH, through the desire of booty, had fallen on a party of the INDIANS, and began to pillage the baggage of DEVRAN KHAN. There was no time to debate: SAADIT KHAN mounted his elephant, led on his forces, and repulsed the KOURDS. DEVRAN KHAN, now roused by a jealousy of the glory of a man, whom he knew wished his disgrace, brought his men also to the charge immediately, with a design to support SAADIT KHAN; so that the engagement grew warm on both sides.

NADIR,

1739. NADIR, being apprised of what was passing, sent a body of troops to assist his van; and jealous of supporting the reputation of his arms in his first encounter, he detached three thousand of his best troops in three different bodies, and placed them in ambush. He also sent a small body of five hundred men against DEVRAN KHAN, and another of the same number against SAADIT KHAN, in order to draw them into the field. Having then made a proper disposition of the main body of his army, he advanced at the head of a thousand AFSHAR horse to direct the battle.

This disposition had the desired effect. The three thousand men in ambuscade falling upon the troops of SAADIT KHAN, put them to flight, and took their general prisoner. DEVRAN KHAN being followed by above twenty OMRAS and general officers, at the head of their respective bodies, supported his ground with great resolution, till the engagement became more general. At length having received a dangerous wound, he fell extended upon his elephant, and was carried off the field. A report that he was dead, spread a dismay through the whole INDIAN camp.

There was a circumstance pretty remarkable, which I find omitted by those who have given us an account of this battle. They mention indeed the elephants, but not what use was made of them. These formidable animals were conducted at the head of the INDIAN army, and armed for battle: they have ever been represented in eastern wars as objects of great terror; their size, the castles upon their backs, and all the apparatus of war, have been described by historians, painters, and poets, in a light which fills the imagination with dread. NADIR was not ignorant in what manner the INDIANS fight, and therefore caused a number of stages to be made, and fixed across two camels. On these stages he laid naptha, and a mixture of combustibles, and ordered them to be set on fire. It is well known with what terror these huge animals behold this element, so that instead of over-turning the PERSIAN army, at the approach

proach of the camels the elephants turned about, and put a great part of the INDIAN army into confusion. 1739.

In this battle seventeen thousand INDIANS were slain, among whom were a great number of persons of the first distinction. Those who fled from the field, spread terror and confusion through their whole camp. Several took the opportunity of plundering the tents of their own commanders. Numbers, who attended the baggage brought into the field, fled towards DEHLIE, which afforded a favourable opportunity to the PERSIANS to kill and pillage at discretion. In this action not half of the INDIAN army was engaged, and only about fifty thousand of the troops of NADIR SHAH; he lost on his part only two thousand five hundred men, who were interred the same night; but there were near twice as many wounded.

DEVUAN KHAN lost his eldest son, and the wound he himself had received, proved mortal. His great loss of blood occasioned his fainting: when he came to his senses, he had the additional affliction to find all his tents and baggage plundered; they were therefore obliged to carry him to the tents of MAHOMMED SHAH, to whom he had been reported as killed. The sight of this favourite minister, under these melancholy circumstances, gave the emperor the deepest concern. In a short time after, this lord died of his wounds, which seemed to give him less pain, than to behold his enemy NIZAM AL MULUCK triumphing in the favour of his master, and planning schemes to gratify his base resentment.

In this confused state of affairs in the INDIAN camp, NADIR SHAH advanced to the quarters of NIZAM AL MULUCK; this general had been joined by several other lords, who drew up their forces in a line of battle, as if they meant to stop the progress of the enemy. Night coming on, prevented the PERSIANS from pursuing their victory. The INDIAN camp was now so very thin, that from the emperor's own quarters to those of NIZAM AL MULUCK, which was near two miles, hardly any people were found. In the night a grand consultation was held, in
which

1739. which NIZAM AL MULUCK related in the most affecting manner, the deplorable state to which the fortune of that day had already reduced the court; expatiating upon the fatal effects of war, and the danger to which the emperor's person was exposed; that every moment brought news of the 'death of some person beloved by his majesty,' and of great consequence to the state; his opinion therefore was to accommodate matters with NADIR SHAH, since they could no longer depend on the success of their arms.

The INDIAN monarch, though no warrior, was more inclined to trust to the fortune of a second battle, than to consent to an accommodation, which could be bought only at the price of immense treasures, and must upon other accounts be inglorious. But those on whom he most depended had been killed or dangerously wounded; so that no proper person could be found in whom to confide the command of his forces: nor was he left at a loss as to the direction of his councils. Whatever suspicions he might entertain of NIZAM AL MULUCK, the ascendancy which this minister had acquired, in some measure obliged him to trust him implicitly. The death of DEVRAN KHAN, at once removed the bar to the ambition of NIZAM AL MULUCK, as well as the object of his hatred. At length full power was given to this minister, to treat with the PERSIAN monarch. AZIM ALI KHAN was appointed to attend him; of which NADIR SHAH was acquainted. The third day after the battle, the ceremonial being previously adjusted, they pitched their tents between the two camps: and a PERSIAN officer was sent to conduct these INDIAN lords into the presence of NADIR SHAH.

The PERSIAN monarch received them in a gracious manner, causing them to sit in his presence; and then he spoke to this effect: "It is now four months since I sent my ambassador to MAHOMMED SHAH your master, to demand of him the payment of what is due to PERSIA; why has he detained my people, and given me no answer; and at length obliged me to make so long and laborious a march?" NIZAM AL MULUCK excused himself, alledging that he had been in his govern-

ment at DECCAN; that as soon as he came to court he had used his endeavours to bring the affair to a conclusion, but that his demands were greater than the empire could answer¹. 1739.

NADIR smiled at the excuse, and shewed him the accounts of the MOGHOL's treasure; adding to this effect: "The grand-father of MAHOMMED SHAH and uncle of JEANGUIR, once demanded of PERSIA the succour of ten thousand men. PERSIA sent them, and bore the expence, on condition of being reimbursed; which has never yet been done. By the treaties of alliance subsisting between the two empires, they ought reciprocally to support each other. PERSIA having been long rent with civil wars, the same force has been demanded of you; but no answer was ever made. I have borrowed large sums, for which I pay interest, to retake from the TURKS the provinces which they had possessed themselves of belonging to PERSIA. The neglect of the treaties on your part, has been the cause of the misfortunes which have happened to PERSIA: who is to repair these injuries? I had intended to put your emperor and his troops to the sword, but I will favour them; go and tell him to come to me, and we will make up our quarrel in a convenient manner."

The 18th of FEBRUARY was accordingly appointed for the meeting of the two monarchs. MAHOMMED SHAH, emperor of HINDOSTAN, seated in a royal litter², issued from his camp, attended by AZIM ALI KHAN, GHAZI O'DIN KHAN, several eunuchs, and about two hundred horse: he was met half-way by TÆHMAS KHAN, the lieutenant³ of the PERSIAN king, who paid him the honours due to his rank. TÆHMAS then required the eunuchs and cavalry to halt, and attended the GREAT MOGHOL

¹ It is said that VIZAM AL MULUCK went so far as to make him the servile compliment, that the desire of seeing a king of such renown, and to kiss the dust of his feet, was so great, that they purposely neglected his request. The ORIENTALS deal much in hyperboles, but such a compliment as this would rather have insulted the common sense of the prince to whom it was paid, than gratified his pride. According to what is related, the INDIA did actually invite NADIR into INDIA, hardly foreseeing what would happen.

² TAKHT ARAAN, which signifies a moving throne.

³ VAS EEL OR VEKIL.

1739. GHOL with the PERSIAN guard. At the entrance of NADIR's camp he was met by NESR ALI MYRZA, who was sent by the command of his father to conduct the INDIAN king to the royal tent. NADIR came forth to receive him, and having placed him on his left-side, after the ordinary compliments, he addressed him to this effect: "Is it possible that you should have thus abandoned the care of your own affairs to oblige me to make you this visit? I sent you two ambassadors; one of them contrary to the laws of all nations, and to the friendship subsisting between us, was murdered at PEISHOR; nor did your ministers send me any satisfactory answer to my letters which reached your hands. When I entered your dominions, you never deputed any one to ask me who I was, or what my intentions were; even when I advanced to LAHOR, and sent you a message of salutation, I received no answer. When the commanders of your forces were awakened out of their lethargy, instead of negotiating for a reconciliation, they met in a tumultuous manner to stop my progress. Afterwards you cooped yourselves up in your intrenchments, without considering, that if your enemy was stronger than you, it was impossible to remain in that situation without being starved; and if he was weaker, it was as dishonourable as unnecessary: at length, without any precaution, you put all to the issue of one blow. Tho' I saw how you were entangled, I made you offers of accommodation; but you was so ill advised, or puffed up with childish conceits, that you neglected the terms of my friendship, and abandoned your own interest. Now you see to what streights you are reduced by the victorious armies of PERSIA. How little able you have been to govern your own people, appears by your granting for several years a tax to infidels, by whom it ought to have been paid; and you have suffered them to overrun your country.

"However, as the race of TEMUR have never done any remarkable injury to the sovereigns of PERSIA, I will not take the empire from you;

* I do not find any mention made of such offer after the INDIAN army was assembled on the banks of KARNAL, to which this seems to allude. * This tax, called the JIZIAH, was wont to be paid by those who were not MAHOMMEDANS.

“ you ; I only mean to indemnify myself for the great expence of this 1739:
 “ war. After I have refreshed my army at DEHLIE, and received the
 “ subsidy * which must be paid, I will leave you in possession of your
 “ dominions.”

MAHOMMED SHAH heard this speech with that silence, which testifies sorrow and confusion ; tho' it was some consolation to receive assurance of his life and empire. Language so foreign to that of a court, could not but touch the heart of a king, whose weakness did not amount to insensibility. It may perhaps appear a little strange, that the captive monarch should be suffered to return to his own camp ; but our surprize will cease, if we reflect that NADIR had nothing to fear from his military force ; and that as riches were his chief object, the more gently he conducted himself towards the INDIANS, till he should arrive at DEHLIE, the less danger there would be of their concealing or destroying their treasures.

MAHOMMED SHAH retired to his camp, in some degree relieved from his inquietude ; tho' he knew not into what difficulties the avarice of the conqueror might plunge him. He ordered the dead bodies, which lay spread for near the space of twelve miles, to be interred ; but those who were wounded and unable to move, were left to expire, there being no one that could afford them any succour. At the same time, the military chest, with all the treasure of MAHOMMED SHAH, was brought to NADIR.

Some of the INDIAN lords, who were forward to ingratiate themselves with the conqueror, represented that there were many thousand horses and camels belonging to the soldiers and followers of the MOGHOL's camp ; and as by his clemency these people had received quarter, they ought not to think it any hardship to deliver such as his officers should think proper to chuse. To this he replied ; that the bread of soldiers depended, in a great measure, on their horses ; and that the loss of these in their present circumstances, might expose them and their families to beggary ; and as he had given them quarter, they should depart unmolested.

* This is called a *PRESEUSE*, or present from an inferior to a superior. The sum agreed for was twenty crores, which we shall have occasion to mention.

1739. The INDIAN camp had been in great distress almost from the very time they assembled in the plains of KARNAL. Representation being now made, that the sutlers^a by their extortions had raised the price of bread to an exorbitant degree, MAHOMMED SHAH ordered their shops to be broke open. This answered no other purpose, than to waste and disperse the little provision that remained, so that a pound of wheat was not to be had for less than the value of four shillings. What had contributed to render the provisions so excessive dear, was the vigilance of the flying parties of the PERSIAN army, who within forty miles round the camp, had at different times cut off not less than fourteen thousand INDIAN marauders. A body of NADIR's troops, who at this time were sent to TANISEER, slaughtered a great number of the inhabitants, plundered the town, and returned to their camp with a considerable booty.

The next day, after the bodies of the INDIANS were interred, NADIR sent an officer with a detachment to take possession of the equipage of the GREAT MOGHOL; causing it to be proclaimed in the camp, that every one might retire without fear of being stopped or insulted. He also sent his master of the ordnance^a, together with the officer who makes seizures^a, each with five hundred horse, to seize all the ordnance and implements of war belonging to the emperor, and the lords of his court. He required moreover that MAHOMMED SHAH, with his son SULTAN ACHMED, and his empress MALIKA AL ZUMANI^b, with their domestics, should repair to his camp: accordingly a royal tent was prepared for them in front of his own, and a thousand PERSIAN soldiers were appointed as their guard.

In the mean while, NADIR SHAH dispatched his lieutenant TACHMAS KHAN to DEHLIE, with four thousand horse, to take possession of the castle. SAADIT KHAN was charged with the care of the city, together with the houses and effects of the inhabitants; strict directions were also given

^a BANIANs, who are mostly trading people in INDIA. They are of a particular sect, who believe the transmigration of souls, whether of man or beast, from whence they are very harmful in their conduct, lest they should injure one of their own friends or relations, in the appearance of a lord or beast.

^a TOWFCHI BASHI.

^b NESSACKUCHI BASHI.

^b This word signifies the queen of the tunes.

given him that no injury should be done to any of them. This general on his arrival published the SHAH's orders, adding, that none of the citizens should dare to molest the PERSIANS. The governor of the castle being informed of what had passed on the plains of KARNAL, made no scruple to pay an implicit obedience to the summons of NADIR's lieutenant, and admitted him, together with all his troops. The palace was also prepared for the reception of the PERSIAN monarch. All the valuable effects were sealed up, and a list prepared of the OMRAS, and all the wealthy inhabitants of the city.

NADIR being master of all the jewels and of the military chests of the INDIAN camp at KARNAL, gave a gratuity of three months pay to every foldier in his army. He then made choice of two hundred pieces of cannon, with their carriages, out of the INDIAN ordnance, and sent them with other effects under a strong convoy to CABUL.

C H A P. XXII.

March of the PERSIAN and INDIAN armies from KARNAL to DEHLIE.

NADIR's entrance into DEHLIE. SAADIT KHAN destroys himself. Massacre of DEHLIE. NADIR's conduct after the massacre.

THIS disposition being made, NADIR began his march towards DEHLIE. His advanced guard^c consisted of four thousand men, who served to escort his harram, twenty thousand of his best cavalry guarded them at a proper distance. About two miles behind was MAHOMMED SHAH, attended by fifty of his principal courtiers, and escorted by twelve thousand PERSIANS. The INDIAN lords, at the head of their respective troops, marched at the distance of a mile from each other, having great bodies of the PERSIAN army between them. NADIR himself brought up the rear, with the gros of his army, the whole composed a number of near three hundred and fifty thousand men^d, who covered near twelve miles in length, and three in breadth.

In

^c HOURUCK. See Vol I page 249

^d Before the late engagement the INDIAN army alone was near this number, including all their attendants, but a great part of these had been dispersed, and numbers of them killed

1739. In this manner they proceeded five days march, till they came to SONPUT. This place, together with PANIPUT, and several villages, were plundered by the PERSIANS, as they marched along. From SONPUT they advanced to NIRELA, and the next day^c in the evening they arrived at the gardens of SHALIMAR. NADIR SHAH declined going into the city in the night, as well on account of the safety of his person, as the regard to his state. He ordered MAHOMMED, the GREAT MOGHOL, seated in a royal litter, and preceded by his standards, with two hundred of the servants of his court, to march forward into the city. These were convoyed by four thousand PERSIAN horse, who accompanied the INDIAN monarch to his apartment^f.

NADIR encamped with his forces without the gates. The next morning he marched with great circumspection thro' the city to the castle^g, attended by a body of twenty thousand men. MAHOMMED SHAH had already given notice to the inhabitants, when the PERSIAN conqueror was to enter the city^h; ordering that all the houses and shops should be shut, and according to the awful respect shewn to eastern kings, that no person should presume to appear in the streets. This order was executed with great exactness; for of the vast number of inhabitants, there were no spectators of his triumphant entry: a mournful silence reigned throughout the city, as if it presaged some dreadful calamity.

NADIR having taken possession of the castle, was immediately attended by MAHOMMED SHAH, towards whom he behaved with great civility. He distributed his troops into their quarters, and took all the necessary measures that due obedience should be paid to his orders, till the articles of peace were regulated with NIZAM AL MULUCK. In the mean while, he enjoined his NAËSSAKHCHIⁱ in the strictest manner, that whoever presumed to injure any of the natives, should be punished with the severest bastonading, or with the loss of their ears or nose, according to the nature of their offence.

The

* The 7th of MARCH.
joy.

^f This they call the ARYEH MAHL, which signifies the place of.

^g Castle is used synonymously for castle, citadel, or palace, viz. place of defence.

^h This was the 9th of MARCH.

ⁱ These are the order of soldiers who are charged with the punishment of offences, as already mentioned.

The PERSIANS, however polite in their manners, are but rude in their apparel and customs, compared with the delicacy of the INDIANS. In NADIR's army were also many TARTARS, whose rough and savage aspects made such impressions on the INDIANS, that they avoided as much as possible all communication with them. 1739.

SAADIT KHAN, who seems to have been a man of warm passions, and of an inconstant disposition, was now as forward to recommend himself to his new master NADIR, as he had been ambitious at KARNAL, of exerting himself in the defence of his true sovereign. He went out to the gardens of SHALIMAR to meet NADIR SHAH, and accompanied him till he alighted at the palace of DEHLIE. This lord had flattered himself with hopes of being admitted to a private audience, in which it was presumed he intended to recommend certain measures for the interest of the PERSIAN king. NADIR, who had always distinguished himself for his penetration, spoke with great harshness to him, and demanded why he had not begun collecting the subsidies.

This reproof touched SAADIT KHAN to the heart; his jealousy was fired, and he concluded that NIZAM AL MULUCK had done him some ill office. Under this anxiety of thought, it is probable the remembrance of his infidelity recoiled upon him. He knew that to be suspected by a prince of such a temper as NADIR, was but a remove from ruin. Under these circumstances he retired; and despair drove him to the fatal expedient of taking poison.

Such is oftentimes the fate of men who swerve from the paths of honour, and bewilder themselves in the mazes of iniquity. Those principles which intice them to forsake the interest of their country, in order to gratify a private passion or resentment, hardly ever support them under a change of fortune, or the pressure of calamities.

What had passed on the plains of KARNAL, and the havoc created by the sword and famine, was but a prelude to the distress which heaven permitted to fall upon the unfortunate inhabitants of DEHLIE. The next day-

1739. day^k after NADIR's arrival, was a feast of sacrifice^l with the INDIANS, and the new-year's-day of the PERSIANS. NADIR's lieutenant, TÆH-MAS KHAN, sent several PERSIAN horsemen of the NÆSSICKHCHI to the granaries^m, ordering them to be opened, and the price of corn to be fixed. This not being done to the satisfaction of the proprietors, occasioned the assembling a mob. SAYD NEAZ KHAN, and several other persons of distinction, put themselves at their head, and killed the PERSIAN horsemen.

After this unwarrantable act, a report was soon spread that NADIR SHAH was slainⁿ; upon which the tumult increased. All idle persons and men of desperate fortunes joined them, and marched towards the castle. A party of PERSIAN horse, which was posted near the entrance, were forced to retire with some loss. In the mean while, several PERSIANS whom SAYD NEAZ KHAN had taken as a safe-guard to his house, were treacherously shut up in a room, and burnt alive. The soldiers who were lodged in the palace of the deceased DEVRAN KHAN, and other great houses and caravanserais, were obliged to retreat to their quarters, and remain under arms the whole night. The cannon and harquebusses on the ramparts of the castle, as well as those in the houses occupied by the PERSIANS, were discharged at the mob, but without quelling the insurrection.

The next morning NADIR, at the head of a strong party of his troops issued out of the palace, with an intention to suppress the tumult. Whether the discovery of the dead bodies of several of his soldiers, fired him with the desperate resolution of ordering the inhabitants to be massacred, does not clearly appear^o. If we may judge from his natural cruelty and insatiable avarice, it is not unreasonable to believe, that he at once delivered up the city, without any limitation, to slaughter and pillage. His orders

^k The 10th of MARCH.

^l Eid ZOHÀ.

^m These are called PAHÀ GUNJH.

ⁿ These people seem to have been in the same circumstances of delusion as the PERSIANS, in their rebelion five years afterwards at ASTRABAD, who first took arms, and then flattered themselves, and even reported, that NADIR SHAH was dead.

^o Mr. PRAZER, who has given the authorities for most of the transactions in DENLIEU, says, that the soldiers were at first ordered not to do any harm to the innocent. But soldiers are bad judges in such cases.

orders were in an instant obeyed: a place taken by storm never exhibited a greater scene of horror. The PERSIAN soldiers having spread themselves, broke open houses and palaces, slaughtering with an unbridled fury, with very little distinction of age or sex. This bloody scene extended above six miles ¹⁷³⁹.

Many who had fled from the neighbouring country to take refuge in the city, assembled in a body to defend their lives; these were joined by jewellers, money-changers, and rich shop-keepers. The physician of the court put himself at their head, and despair supplied the place of strength and resolution. These unhappy people fought bravely for some time, but being so little accustomed to the use of arms, they had only the satisfaction of dying sword in hand.

LUTF ALI KHAN conducted this bloody business in one quarter of the town: SĪRBULLIND KHAN, an INDIAN lord, whose reputation and venerable aspect had charms not to be resisted, rushing from his palace, prostrated himself before the PERSIAN general, and represented that the inhabitants of that part of the city were innocent; and begging for their lives, he offered to pay a large ransom, which was accepted, and the slaughter ceased.

In the mean time NIZAM-AL MULUCK was stung with remorse at the sight of so sad a spectacle, and conscious of his guilt, in being in some measure the occasion of it¹, went and threw himself at NADIR's feet, intreating his mercy, for the unfortunate remains of so flourishing a city. After a torrent of reproaches, NADIR gave orders for the recall of his soldiers.

This carnage lasted from eight in the morning till three in the afternoon; about four hundred of the PERSIANS were killed, but of the citizens not less than one hundred and ten thousand. All the jewellers and goldsmiths shops were plundered, and many of them set on fire. Private houses had no better fortune: and the palaces of the great partook of the common

¹ DEHLIE is represented to be a very large city
² Because of his treasonable correspondence, which is supposed to have been a motive to the invasion

1739. common ruin. Next morning the inhabitants were ordered, under the severest penalties, to bury their dead. These unhappy people had not even time to distinguish the MAHOMMEDANS from the PAGANS: the latter, however abominable to Mussulmen, even after death, were either tumbled into one common grave, or consumed together in funeral piles, after the manner of the PAGANS.

As to those who were shut up in houses, numbers of their bodies were not brought out for burial till after NADIR's departure: what horrid spectacles they were then, the reflection is shocking to humanity. Many who were jealous of their honour killed their wives, and then committed murder on themselves. Numbers were burnt in their houses, especially women and children; nor did the sword spare even the infant at his mother's breast. Horror and despair had plunged the inhabitants into such distress, that near ten thousand women threw themselves into wells; of these, some were afterwards taken out alive.*

When the slaughter began, the mob who had been the apparent occasion of it disappeared, and left the innocent to suffer. The leading people of this fatal tumult had been so infatuated, as to think that a mob might effect what the imperial army of INDIA had hardly any chance of executing: several of these were taken prisoners, among whom was SAYD NEAZ KHAN: NIZAM AL MULUCK and the vizir pleaded hard for him, but in vain; NADIR ordered his belly to be ripped open, and in this deplorable manner he expired.

The prisoners brought before the PERSIAN king amounted to several thousands; of these the greatest part were women, of whom many, contrary to the discipline he had established, and contrary to the sacred rights of humanity, had upon this occasion suffered the most infamous treatment. NADIR ordered them to be conducted to their respective houses, where they retired in circumstances of the deepest distress.

The

* One remarkable incident happened of a certain man who burnt twenty women of his family; and then finding that the soldiers had missed his house, went out to acquaint them he had large effects; these the soldiers took, but left him unhurt, upon which he murdered himself.

The amount of the loss in houses, effects and riches, in so rich a city, must have been very considerable: but in such a confusion, it is probable many valuable things were lost. Large sums were brought into NADIR's treasury; and the booty which the PERSIAN soldiers reserved to themselves, as afterwards appeared, was very important. 1739.

Before the massacre at DEHLIE, a party of the PERSIAN forces had been sent to seize the cannon at the palace of an INDIAN lord. These had been also treacherously set upon and murdered, by a body of TARTAR MOGHOLS*. NADIR being informed of this accident, sent a large detachment, who fell upon those people and slaughtered near six thousand of them. The PERSIANS brought away the ordnance, together with three hundred persons of the chief rank among them. NADIR caused the heads of these immediately to be struck off, and their bodies to be thrown into the RETEE†.

After this, a proclamation was made, that all persons should pursue their employments, and that none of the PERSIAN soldiers should hurt or molest them. To prevent the ordinary consequences of such calamities, NADIR gave orders that the granaries should be sealed up‡, and guards set over them. He also commanded several parties of cavalry to invest the city, that no person might go out of it without a particular license. Many whom hunger and misery induced to leave this dreadful scene, were arrested by the PERSIAN guards, who cut off their ears or noses.

So severe a conduct was soon followed by the distress of many thousands, who had been plundered of their money and effects; for provisions were become excessive dear. The people who were not the proper inhabitants of the city applied to NADIR SHAH, chusing rather to die by a speedy effect of his anger, than to perish more slowly with hunger. These went to him in a body, and in tears of anguish and distress prostrated themselves, and begged for bread. Even the cruel NADIR was touched with

Z 2

their

* These are called MOGHOL POURA.

† The river of DEHLIE.

‡ In

PERSIA as well as RUSSIA, the sealing up doors by means of a bit of string with some bees wax impressed with a seal, is looked upon more sacred than any lock.

1739. their misfortunes, and gave them liberty of retiring to FERID-ABAD, in order to buy provisions.

C H A P. XXIII.

Male administration of RIZA KOULI MYRZA, regent of PERSIA. Rebellion of the ARABS against the PERSIAN government. Conduct of the PERSIAN ambassador at CONSTANTINOPLE.

DURING this scene of misery and devastation at DEHLIE, PERSIA still groaned under a tyrannical government. RIZA KOULI MYRZA the regent, by practising all the arts of cruelty and extortion, soon incurred the hatred of the people. In order to cover his rapacious avarice, he took the specious name of a merchant: thus he arbitrarily monopolized the raw silk on his own terms, and obliged the manufacturers to take it of him again at the price he was pleased to impose. In the vanity of his heart he wrote to his father, to acquaint him that he had gained a million five hundred thousand crowns*, without doing wrong to any man. NADIR, jealous of such extraordinary abilities in his son, desired him to explain himself. RIZA KOULI answered, that he had turned merchant, and obtained it by commerce, of which he sent him a certificate†.

The SHAH, who was not to be easily imposed on, represented to him the injurious consequences of such proceedings; that if he had so great a passion for trade, a fishery‡ should be appointed him, from whence he might draw a considerable profit, without invading any property, or diminishing the advantages which belonged to fair traders, by whom nations

* 750,000
 † This certificate of his fair dealing was indeed testified by the merchants of RESHD, but it was obtained by compulsive means, through the interposition of his principal agent HADGHRE SADDUK.

‡ At a time when the success of the herring fishery seems to be suspected by many, it may be worth while to reflect on this advice of NADIR SHAH, his notion seems to arise from reason and nature, without discourse or argument, for fish is so small an article of the food of the PERSIANS, that it seems strange that NADIR should stumble on the thought.

tions are enriched. Upon the whole, he was so much displeased at his son's administration, that he sent a decree, confirming all governors and magistrates in their posts, till he should return from INDIA. This incident was so contumelious a reproach to the prince, that it laid the foundation of his rebellion, as we shall have occasion to relate. 1739.

The PERSIANS rejoiced at the success of their king over the INDIAN monarch; and the value of the riches taken from that prince were represented as inestimable. What tended to flatter them into the hopes of HALCYON days, was the arrival of a messenger, who brought a decree from NADIR SHAH, which exempted them from taxes for a whole year, to commence from the tenth of MARCH. The officers, who had begun to collect the money, were ordered to refund; which they performed accordingly.

Amidst all these rapid victories, PERSIA was not free from alarms. Some of her subjects in the south took the advantage of the SHAH's absence, and threw off their yoke. NADIR had ordered seven of his ships to be prepared in the PERSIAN gulph, for some expedition which he had meditated: the PERSIAN commander took this occasion to seize the barks belonging to the HOULES, a tribe of ARABS, and would not permit any of them to cross the streight of ORMUS. This gave occasion for a revolt, in which the PERSIAN ships were taken by these ARABIANS, and several of them burnt.

TAGHI KHAN, the governor of SHIRASS, soon after embarked a great number of men in small vessels^b, and went to chastise the rebels. In the mean time the MASCATS, another tribe of the ARABS, fitted out several ships, apprehending a visit from the PERSIANS. Their fears were soon removed, for the HOULES were an over-match for their enemies: the PERSIAN forces were repulsed, with the loss of near two thousand of their men. This event however encouraged the IMAN^c of MASCAT,

^a This is called a *WAGAN FIRMAN*, which is a name given it by some, I imagine to be more proper to INDIA.

^b It is said they were intended to sail round, and go up the INDUS, to carry troops to join the army, which was on the march to INDIA, few predicable this might be, I cannot determine. We are told ALEXANDER came down the INDUS.

^c TARTARIANS.

^d The chief of the ARABIANS on the opposite side of the gulph

1739. MASCAT, to accept the offer of a defensive alliance with the HOULES, in order to support their mutual liberty, against all attempts of the PERSIANS.

But the greatest uneasiness was created by the TURKS. NADIR, notwithstanding his great distance, endeavoured to possess them with the terror of his arms; that they might not take advantage of his absence to make a peace with the RUSSIANS and invade PERSIA. He sent two ambassadors to them from KANDAHAR, of whom the last, MAHOMMED RIZA KHAN, arrived at CONSTANTINOPLE in NOVEMBER last year; and in the beginning of the next month was admitted to an audience of the grand signior. The KHAN assured his highness in the most elegant and exalted terms, "That his master, the SHAH, had the greatest desire to live
" in perfect amity with him; but that the means of doing this was to
" yield up DIARBEEKIR, in the same condition it was in during its subjec-
" tion to the PERSIAN empire^d. He also pretended to the UPPER ARME-
" NIA: and further insisted that the grand signior should renounce his alli-
" ance with the GREAT MOGHOL; that the new fortifications made at
" BAGDAT, since the provisional treaty of peace, concluded three years
" before, should be demolished; and that the PERSIAN caravans should
" have every where a free passage in the dominions of the OTTOMAN
" empire."

These demands appearing capricious as well as insolent, the TURKISH ministers, though they dreaded a war with PERSIA, seemed by no means disposed to comply with them; on the contrary, they declared that the grand signior would make a peace with the emperor of the ROMANS, and the empress of RUSSIA, and engage in a fresh war with PERSIA, rather than submit to such dishonourable conditions. What added to the distress of the port, was the rebellion of SARE BEN OGLOU in NATOLIA. NADIR might flatter himself into a belief of selling his friendship for some very valuable consideration; but his interest was to keep the TURKS deeply engaged in a war with RUSSIA; that so he might find them the

^d This country was formerly part of MESOPOTAMIA, and the ancient boundary of the kingdom of ASSYRIA.

the more weakened, when he should return to fill up the measure of his 1739. victories over them.

NADIR also sent an ambassador to the court of ST. PETERSBURG, with which he had a more natural interest: that court was also very sensible how little his friendship was to be depended on, however, it was some satisfaction that he was very far from having entered into any close connection with the TURKS, tho' he was not engaged in a war with them.

CHAP. XXIV.

NADIR gives his soldiers a gratuity. Contribution of AUDIH brought to DEHLIE. SIRBULLIND KHAN appointed chief collector of the contribution. His declaration to NIZAM AL MULUCK. Barbarous treatment of the INDIANS in collecting the contributions. The value of the treasure collected.

WE return now to INDIA, to see how the mighty ravager conducted himself after spilling so much innocent blood: we shall find that his avarice was in no respects inferior to his cruelty. These indeed are vices twin-born from the regions of darkness, and increase in malignity in proportion to the power by which they are supported.

NADIR being now master of vast treasures, paid his army their arrears*, and in order to encourage them to bring in their plunder, he added a gratuity also. These payments were made in his own coin, which was struck upon this occasion, with this inscription:

“NADIR the master of fortune, and the king of kings, is the most
“powerful prince of the earth.”

The reverse was:

“May God perpetuate his reign.”

The

* Twelve months pay for 140,000 men, at the ordinary computation is 3,400,000 l. but it is probable that the riches he found at CAHVIL, enabled him to pay his army on the occasion of his taking that place, and consequently he did not disburse near so large a sum on this occasion.

1739. The great business was the collection of those vast sums, which NADIR exacted of the GREAT MOGHOL and his subjects. TÄHMÄS KHAN had been charged to watch over the conduct of SAADIT KHAN. This INDIAN general* had accepted the commission of compelling his countrymen to deliver up their riches, agreeably to the respective quotas to be levied on them: upon his decease, his nephew, MAHOMMED KHAN, was called upon to deliver in an account of all his uncle's effects, which amounted to a million sterling†. Great part of this was brought from his government, under an escort of a thousand PERSIAN horse: but the sum was two hundred and fifty thousand pounds short of what SAADIT KHAN had engaged to pay.

SIRBULLIND KHAN, already mentioned as the person by whose intercession the massacre was stopt in his quarter, though poor, was much respected: the corruptions of the court had not tainted his integrity. NADIR excused him from paying any tax himself, as knowing his inability; but these very reasons rendered him worthy of the greatest trust; hence he was appointed to collect from other people the free gift‡, and contribution§. His age and infirmities in some measure obstructed his vigilance: NADIR therefore acquainted him, that if he meant to avoid the weight of his anger, he would do well to exert himself. Two hundred soldiers were assigned him as a guard in the execution of this office. He was also charged to oblige all persons in public employment¶, to produce all the horses, camels, and elephants, belonging to the crown, that proper choice might be made of them for the use of the PERSIAN army.

This KHAN saw to what extremities he must reduce the people in the execution of this dangerous commission: it is some consolation however to honest men under such circumstances, that they may alleviate a misfortune, and execute their charge with humanity; when a person of a different character would aggravate the evil, and render it still a heavier weight to the calamitous.

SIR-

* I use the terms general and lord as words that are familiar and emphatical, and convey, I think, a stronger idea than the INDIAN names. It may however be proper to remark, that *SAADIT* or *SAAD* is the ordinary title given the *OMRAS* or INDIAN lords who are governors; *KHAN* signifies a deputy or viceroy, such as SAADIT KHAN we may suppose was in *AUDIN*.

† Eighty lacks of rupees, or one million sterling. The sum promised was a crore or 100 lacks, equal to 1,250,000 £.

‡ This they call the *PÄSHCHIN*.

§ This is called the *BRÄVÄ*, or forced contribution.

¶ *MAHMOUD*.

SIRBULLIND KHAN saw to what extremities he must reduce the inhabitants in the execution of this dangerous commission, but there was no remedy; TÄHMÄS KHAN and MUSTAPHA KHAN^k, pressed him to enter upon the office assigned him. This old man, in the fulness of his heart, addressing himself to NIZAM AL MULUCK, who was then present, spoke to this effect: "I have long foreseen the misfortune which has overtaken us; I often represented to the emperor the danger of an easy security, and desired him to send a trusty ambassador with large presents into PERSIA, to divert the storm which was breaking out on that side. We might have appeased the resentment of the SHAH, and lived with him in friendship: but the courtiers would not listen to my advice; they imagined that what I said was only with a view to some private interest; and whilst they neglected to second my counsel, they proposed no kind of expedient to avert the impending danger: at length, we see to what a calamitous issue things are reduced. For my own part, had I been possessed of money, I would have sent it all to KANDAHAR, rather than have given any provocation to the SHAH to have made so extraordinary an expedition. However, we have now no remedy; we must raise the immense sum of twenty crores^l, if the money is to be found, which God only can tell whether it be possible to raise under the present distressed condition of the capital."

NIZAM AL MULUCK made no reply to this speech. In whatever degree he was answerable for the misfortune, he saw too plainly the mistake he had committed, as the sum demanded of himself was no less than one crore and a half^m. He, together with the vizir and DEVRAN KHAN, had received one croreⁿ, which had been issued out of the royal treasury for the military chest, when they marched against the PERSIANS: of the two former NADIR demanded an account of this sum; he also ordered them to send to their respective

^k This was the man to whom I was under such singular obligations in the camp of NADIR SHAH in MARCH 1744.

^l Twenty five millions of pounds. This was the sum which NIZAM AL MULUCK after the battle of KARNAUL had agreed to pay the SHAH, exclusive of the jewels, gold, plate, and other rich goods belonging to the emperor and the lords of his court

^m 1,570,000/.

ⁿ 1,250,000/.

1739. respective governments for all the treasure, belonging either to themselves or the crown.

NIZAM AL MULUCK represented, that when he left DECCAN, he established his son as his deputy, giving him possession of all his effects; that all the world knew his son had refused to deliver up his government, and was no longer in his power; that NADIR himself was only capable of reducing him and the rebellious princes of DECCAN.

This answer, which was in some degree true, served to divert the SHAH from pursuing a point in its nature hardly practicable. It was very plain he thought it unsafe to penetrate deeper into the country, lest he should never get out of it again. KUMMIR O'DIN KHAN, the vizir, was treated with greater severity. He endeavoured to elude the payment of the large contribution demanded of him; NADIR therefore caused him to be exposed openly to the sun, which is reckoned a punishment contumelious as well as painful, and in that country dangerous to the health. At length, he extorted from him a whole crore of rupees^o, besides a great value in precious stones and elephants. His secretary, who was also a man of fortune, was taxed in a large sum, and delivered to SIRBULLIND KHAN, in order to be tortured if he did not pay it; however, he prevented this persecution by a dose of poison.

A sum of money was now issued out of the treasury for the charge of fifty horsemen, who were ordered to march to BENGAL, with directions to the governor to send seven crores of rupees^p. The VAKEEL^q of that kingdom, who was then present at DEHLIE, said that so much money would load a string of waggons to reach from thence to the capital. Being severely beaten for his sarcasm, he went home, and revenged himself by taking poison together with his whole family.

The INDIANS of distinction seem to have a great sensibility of such indignities. The gentler treatment to which they had been accustomed, gave

^o 1,250,000 *l*. ^p 8,750,000 *l*. I never heard that he received any money from thence, tho' the province was armed. The riches of DEHLIE seemed to fill up the measure of his avance, great as it was.

^q The lieutenant governor.

gave them very different impressions from what the PERSIANS received in the like circumstances. 1739.

It is not easy to conceive with what rigor these contributions were levied; and what numbers destroyed themselves with their own hands, to be delivered from the tortures and punishments with which they were threatened. No barbarities were left unpractised: the tax imposed was strictly exacted, tho' in the computation of the respective abilities of the inhabitants, numerous mistakes were made; besides, as there were no purchasers of their effects, except the PERSIANS, hardly a quarter of their value was paid. The consequence of this was, that many left their effects and their families at the mercy of the PERSIANS, and made their escape to ACBAR ABAD. Here the governor received them, determined to resist any of the flying parties who should appear in his district; for which purpose he appointed six thousand horse to protect those who fled to him for shelter.

Mean while all the inhabitants of any consideration were obliged to declare under their hand-writing, what money and effects they were possessed of; that if it should be afterwards found they had concealed any thing, they might be punished with the utmost severity; and in this process a suspicion was often deemed a proof.

The commissioners appointed for the collection sat every day, from sun-rise till evening, during which time there was very little respect shewn to persons. At length, about the middle of APRIL, the sum of four crores* was extorted from the merchants and common people. In the royal treasuries were found three crores* of money; but in the inward vaults, which had been shut during many reigns, they discovered a much larger value†. Nor must we forget to mention the peacock throne, which was rich in jewels, and valued at a prodigious sum. The whole of the treasure amassed upon this occasion, is estimated as follows:

A a 2

Jewels.

* 5,000,000 l

* 3,750,000 l.

† The different relations we have had of this extraordinary rapine, are for the most part upon the marvelous, and several writers have suffered their imaginations to travel much faster than their judgment. The most probable account values these

1739.

	Crores.	l.
Jewels taken from the GREAT MOGHOL and the INDIAN lords ——— }	25 —	31,250,000
The peacock throne, with nine others, also several weapons and utensils all garnished with precious stones — }	9 —	11,250,000
Gold and silver plate, and money, which NADIR melted down into large ingots }	30 —	37,500,000
To these we may add the rich manufac- tures of many kinds — }	2 —	2,500,000
Cannon, warlike stores, furniture, and other valuable commodities — }	4 —	5,000,000

C H A P. XXV.

NADIR marries his second son to the niece of MAHOMMED SHAH. *The presents he makes to that prince and the INDIAN lords. The GREAT MOGHOL's cession of all the country on the west of the INDUS. NADIR's advice to that prince He begins his march from DEHLIE, and musters his army Value of the damage done the INDIANS*

WHILST NADIR was thus glutting himself with treasures, he affected to establish a lasting friendship with the GREAT MOGHOL. With this view he demanded CAMBACHE, the niece of that prince, in marriage for his second son NESR ALI MYRZA. Their nuptials were accordingly consummated on the 27th of MARCH, with some appearances of that satisfaction which such alliances generally create in the

these riches at seventy millions sterling I could never come to the bottom of the matter in PERSIA. The PERSIA is talked only of heaps of treasure, and thousands of camels, and mules loaded with gold and silver and precious stones. Mr. FRAZER's account, which I adopt, makes it seventy crores, which seems to be the highest calculation that the nature of the thing will warrant; this is equal to eighty seven millions five hundred thousand pounds of our money. Of this sum, thirty seven millions five hundred thousand pounds is computed in gold and silver.

the families of princes. MAHOMMED SHAH was in no circumstances to make his niece presents suitable to his own rank, or her condition, however, he sent her fifty thousand rupees in money^u, and as much in jewels. NADIR himself added to these the value of five hundred thousand rupees in jewels^v.

It might be presumed that this alliance was calculated for political ends, either to preserve his authority over the INDIANS, or to retain some part of his conquest by right of dowry to the young princesses but this was not the case. NADIR knew that he could not support his sovereignty over so vast a country, and govern a people so different in manners, tho' of a genius milder and more tractable than the PERSIANS^x, by any authority but what was derived from the sword. So far then as such authority could be extended, he might reasonably hope to support his conquest, and farther than this, alliances by marriage could be of no signification. Besides, the marriages of MAHOMMEDAN princes, who take several wives, ought to be considered in a different light from those of christian kings, tho' it is a means sometimes used among them, as well as christians, to consolidate their friendships.

Perhaps NADIR took this occasion to make the first mention of his desire that the province of CABUL, with all the country on the western banks of the INDUS, from the fort of ATOK, should be yielded to him. And what difficulty could the trembling monarch of HINDOSTAN make, to abandon his right to those provinces, whilst he found himself in the hands of a conqueror, who considered it as an act of clemency to grant him even his life?

During these transactions in DEHLIE, the PERSIANS marauded for thirty or forty miles round the capital, plundering the villages, laying waste the fields, and killing the inhabitants who resisted. Numbers of these were left without any provender for their cattle, which added greatly to their distress.

NADIR,

^u 6 750/

^v Five lacks, or 62,500/

^x The PERSIANS are polite and gentle in their deportment, and submissive to their superiors, but their taste for arms, and their repugnance to be ruled by a tyrant and usurper, has been proved sufficiently

1739. NADIR, who was determined that due obedience should be paid to all his decrees, remembred that which related to the conformity of the SCHIAS and SUNNIS, The fast and repentance, in commemoration of the death of IMAM HASSAN, and IMAM HUSSEIN^y, falling out in the month of MARCH, he caused it to be proclaimed, that no person whatever, either of his own army, or of the subjects of the GREAT MOGHOL, should presume to mention the words TAZIA^z or MATIM^z. This however did not hinder, but that some of his own soldiers, in the camp without the city, beat their breasts, and made lamentations according to their former custom, for which they were severely punished.

The scene was now drawing near a close: the grandeur of a great prince and a conqueror called on NADIR for some acts of generosity. Those INDIAN lords, who had been employed in using their influence and authority to collect the vast treasures he had amassed, were intitled to some regard, tho' it were but a mark of honour.

For these, forty-two presents^b were provided, consisting each of three, four, or five pieces of gold or silver stuffs, according to their respective ranks. Those appointed for NIZAM AL MULUCK, SIRBULLIND KHAN, the great vizir, KUMMIR O'DIN KHAN^c, and MAHOMMED KHAN BUNGUSH,

^y The two sons of ALI often mentioned

^z Signifies mourning

^z Death

^b These are called KHALAST, which properly signifies perfect or accomplished, a robe of honour: given by the king See Vol III page 43

^c Signifies the moon of religion. They

tell a remarkable story of this person, with relation to his son BEDREDDIN KHAN, who disappeared at KARNAL, and it was reasonable to presume still in the field of battle. Soon after this time, the RAJAH of FERREW met a young man in the habit of a Dervish, whom he took to be BEDREDDIN KHAN, whose person was well known to him. The RAJAH having a great friendship for the vizir, sent an express to court, to inform that in midst of the joyful news that his son was found. In the mean while, the young man was received by the RAJAH with the utmost politeness and affection, and clothed in the richest manner, agreeable to his supposed quality. The vizir was transported with joy at the news, and received the compliments of his friends upon this happy occasion. Orders were dispatched immediately to the RAJAH, to send the supposed son to court; a rich palanquin was prepared, and mounted on an elephant, and the young man was conveyed with great pomp by five hundred horse as far as ACBARABAD, where he was received with great marks of distinction by the soldiers and domestics, whom the vizir had sent to meet him. From thence he was conducted to the capital. The young man was no sooner arrived there, than the vizir received him with open arms, and shed over him the tears of joy and paternal affection. The resemblance was so great, that the vizir

GUSH, an INDIAN general, who had also been of great service to the PERSIAN monarch, were much more considerable, consisting of three rich vestments, a turbant, with a PERSIAN sabre and knife, the handles of which were mounted with gold, and enameled. This ceremony was performed on the first of MAY, and all the OMRAS were ordered to attend at the general divan, where MAHOMMED SHAH their own sovereign was present: they were also entertained with the morning's repast.^d 1739.

Upon this occasion, the GREAT MOGHOL himself received marks of the friendship of the PERSIAN monarch, viz. a crown, a bracelet^e, a fillet^f, and a girdle richly set with jewels. To these were added an enamelled dagger^g, and two swords, the handles of which were set with jewels. NADIR SHAH with his own hand placed the crown on the GREAT MOGHOL's head, as if he meant to signify, that to his arm the INDIAN monarch was indebted for his dominions. He also declared with an imperious air, which at once argued his contempt of the INDIANS, and the most lofty conceit of his own power, that if the lords of the court were omisive in their duty, he would call them to severe account, that they ought to consider him always as near, since he could be with them in forty days from KANDAHAR.

Whether

entertained not the least jealousy, but imagined his supposed son jested, when he declared in the same manner he had done to the RAJAH, that he was not BEDREDDIN KHAN. The delusion was carried so far, that he was introduced to the harram, and presented to his supposed mother. His countenance, his stature, his voice and air, persuaded this lady also that he was her son, but as he still persisted that he was not, her curiosity induced her to examine his body, as BEDREDDIN KHAN had a mark in a particular place. What pen can describe her sorrow and confusion, when she discovered that he was not her son! The indignity of a stranger being brought to her apartment aggravated the misfortune, whilst the young man complained of their incredulity, by compelling him to submit to such an extremity. Under these circumstances, the vizir offered to adopt him as his son, and by that means a *once wipe off the stain, and enjoy some part of the pleasures of a father, in the society of one who so much resembled his real son.* But neither was this practicable, for the true father of this young man, who thought he had lost him, was no sooner informed of the adventure, than he reclaimed his son, with the joy that is natural to a tender parent.^d This we may call either breakfast or dinner, as their custom is not to eat till about 11 o'clock, after which the PERSIANS only eat once more in the day. See Vol I page 229. ^e Which the INDIANS call BAZOUBUND. ^f This they call a SIRPREACH, which is wore round the turbant - persons of great distinction generally have them set with precious stones. ^g Which the INDIANS call CUTTARRI.

'1739. Whether any particular ceremony was performed upon the MOGHOL'S yielding up the INDIAN dominions which NADIR claimed, does not appear, but this seems to be the proper place to mention the extraordinary cession made to the PERSIAN king, which was as follows :

" May God perpetuate the reign of NADIR SHAH, who is exalted as " SATURN^b, in glory like MARS^c, in pomp like ALEXANDER^d, sovereign of the kings of the earth; the shadow of the Almighty, and " the refuge of ISLAM^e, whose court is the heavens^f."

" The ministers^g of the sultan, who is merciful, and the emperor, " who is august, formerly sent ambassadors to us to treat of certain demands, with which it was our purpose to comply. The ambassador " MAHOMMED KHAN TURKUMAN, not long since arrived here from " KANDAHAR to remind us thereof; but our ministers having delayed " the ambassador, and postponed answering the letters of his sublime " majesty, it at length produced such a misunderstanding between us, " that his victorious army came into HINDOSTAN. We encountered in " the fields of KARNAL, where victory arose in the east of his " undimmed fortune

" As his sublime majesty is mighty as JUMSHED^h, the greatest of the " TURKUMANS, and the source of goodness as well as valour; relying " on

^b SATURN is 87,000 miles distant from the earth, hence, tho' it appears so small, astronomers mention it as twenty times the diameter of the earth. The ring, which surrounds his middle like an arch, contains forty five diameters of the earth. How does the mind labour to reach the vast expanse, yet is not this more to infinite space than a moment to eternityⁱ. ^c There is also a comparison made with MARS, viz. " impetuous as the god of war " but this seems to be dropping the figure with regard to MARS as a planet. Being placed between JUPITER and the SUN, it might imply power and glory. It is true, a more apt meaning might have been cloaked, if the INDIAN or PERSIAN astrologers agreed with those of EUROPE, with regard to the appearances of MARS, with a ruddy troubled light, supposed to be encompassed with a cloudy atmosphere; if they had dared under the notion of a paregrync to tell a bold truth.

^d Some writers have translated this, " the second ALEXANDER," and from thence make many remarks on the supposed model which NADIR followed, though his motives seem to have been very different from that of the GREEK hero.

^e By this is meant the true faith. ^f It is hard to say which of these three compliments is the greatest bombast, or the most ill applied. ^g As they often use the third person plural, when they speak of princes, they also express an awful respect, not by ascribing their actions to their ministers, but substituting the instrument for the agent.

^h This was one of the ancient kings of PERSIA, remarkable for great power.

" on his honour, we had the satisfaction of an interview, and enjoyed
 " the unmixed delights of his heavenly company. After this we came 1739.
 " together to SHAJEHANABAD^p, where all the jewels and treasures of the
 " emperors of HINDOSTAN^q were presented to him: and, in compliance
 " with our request, his sublime majesty was graciously pleased to accept
 " of some of them.

" But in regard to the illustrious family of JURGHIN^r, and the honour
 " he professes for the original tree of TURKAN^s, out of the greatness of
 " his soul, and the overflowings of his humanity, he has been pleased
 " to restore to us the crown and gem of HINDOSTAN.

" In consideration of this act of generosity, which no father has ever
 " shewn to a son, nor any brother to a brother, we make over to him
 " all the countries to the west of the river ATTOK^t, and of that of
 " SCIND^u, and NALA SUNKRA^w, which is a branch of the SCIND. That
 " is to say, PEISHOR with its territories, the principality of CABUL and
 " GAZNA, HAZARIJAT, the mountainous residences of the AFGHANS,
 " with the castles of BUCKHOR, SUNKOR^x, and KHOUDABAD; the passes,
 " territories, and abodes of the TCHOVKIS and BALLOUCHES, with the
 " whole province of TATA: also the castle of RAM; the towns of
 " CHUN, SUMAWALI, and KETRA, with all the castles, towns, ports,
 " villages, and open country, from the first rise of the river ATTOK,
 " with all the country comprehended within its branches, till it empties
 " itself into the sea at NALA SUNKRA.

" These we freely give up to the dominion of the powerful sovereign
 " of PERSIA, and from hence forward our officers and subjects shall
 " evacuate the same, and resign the property and government to the PER-
 " SIAN

^p DEHLIE.^q INDIA^r This word is sometimes wrote GOURGAN^r, but they both equally allude to TEMUR BEG or TAMERLAINE, of whom the INDIAN emperors are descended^s This also I understand to allude to TAMERLAINE.^t I have already observed that this is part of the INDUS^u Part of the country on the west of the INDUS often goes under this denomination, as well as the INDUS itself^w This is sometimes called NALA SENCURE, which seems to be the island between the INDUS and what DR LISLE calls the river DISTADE.^x This is sometimes wrote SAKIR

1739. "SIAN king, to be disposed of at his pleasure. We renounce all our right to command, controul, or collect revenues, in any of those dominions. But the castle and town of LOHRE BENDER, with all the country to the eastward of the river ATTOK, and of the waters of the SCIND, and NALA SUNKRA, shall, as before, belong to the empire of HINDOSTAN. Dated at SHAJAHANABAD the fourth of MOHIRRIM, 1152."

This acquisition of dominion was an object of no less consequence, than all the treasures of which NADIR robbed the MOGHOL, particularly the province of PEISHOR; if we may judge from the great revenues which he drew from that conquest: nor was there any other danger of his losing it, than what naturally arose from the circumstances of his own government. The seat of the PERSIAN empire, which he had established in KHORASAN, was also calculated for the support of his conquest, had providence permitted him to establish by the arts of peace, what he had thus acquired by the sword. But as the GREAT MOGHOL became a prey to NADIR by the fault of too great gentleness; so NADIR's excess of severity necessarily rendered him odious, and consequently hastened his fall with a more prodigious ruin.

NADIR had now returned the INDIAN diadem to the legal possessor, seemingly with a much greater indifference, than ALEXANDER restored to PORUS, the kingdom which he had conquered from him, with an additional territory. MAHOMMED SHAH was not indeed an object of jealousy, as he seemed no ways inclined to war, or to commence any future contest: whereas PORUS signalized himself in military achievements, ALEXANDER indeed abandoned INDIA entirely; probably because he could not keep it, and therefore can claim the less merit: NADIR retained a considerable share of his conquest, on a presumption that he could keep it. Shall we say that honour or generosity was concerned in either case? Little more than what arises from the virtue which is passive, because there is no temptation or inclination to offend.

NADIR

NADIR being now prepared to march back into his own country, took occasion to give a lesson of advice to the GREAT MOGHOL; and under the cloak of friendship, to recommend such a conduct as tended most to the security of the new conquest, which had been just yielded to him. It is said he spoke to this effect: "You ought by all means to take possession of the lands assigned for the support of your governors," and pay each of them their appointments with ready money out of your treasuries. Let none of them keep any forces of their own: you will then have the less occasion for a numerous standing army; however, you ought to support a body of sixty thousand choice cavalry, at the annual expence of sixty rupees^a each. Every ten men ought to have one corporal^b, every ten corporals one captain^c, and every ten captains one commander of a thousand^d. Acquaint yourself with the country, family, and name of all your officers, with their respective merits and inclinations. Never suffer either them or the common soldiers to be idle or inactive. When occasion requires, detach a sufficient number of your troops under the command of a brave, faithful, and experienced officer; but when he has executed his business, recall him. By this means you will have the less to fear, with regard to the consequences of too great a power.

"As to the great officers of your court, be careful in your choice of them, and do not prefer those who are artful, ambitious, or self-interested. Were I to chuse them, they would shew you very little respect in my absence; but you may depend, if any of them prove rebellious, I will send to chastise them. If necessary, I can be with you myself in forty days from KANDAHAR^e, and never reckon me far off."

This advice seemed to be in some measure agreeable to NADIR's own maxims of government; tho' the frontiers which he had to guard required

B b 2

fo

^a These are called JAGHIRS, or lands appointed for payment of the salaries of the respective governors, which naturally gives them a kind of sovereignty, by collecting the taxes, and converting them to their own use. The advice here seems to be very just. ^b Sixty rupees, or 7 l. 10 s.

^c is but 30 crowns of PERSIA, whereas NADIR's soldiers cost him 100 crowns, including officers. But servitude is cheaper in INDIA.

^d DEN BASHI.

^e SUDIVAL.

^f HAZARI,

sometimes called MINDASHI.

^g The distance is computed between 7 and 800 miles.

PERSIA. His intentions were to build a city after the model of DEHLIE, a draught of which he carried with him. This new city was proposed to be called NADIR ABAD^f; which at the same time that it transmitted his own name to posterity, might remain a monument of his conquest in INDIA, and of his victory obtained over the GREAT MOGHOL. He allowed these artificers large pay, and provided them with horses and other necessaries for their journey: he also agreed, that after the expiration of three years, they should be at liberty to return home. However this design might flatter his vanity, it was never carried into execution: part of these INDIANS deserted before they reached LAHOR, and the continual wars in which he was afterwards engaged diverted the thought of this project, after his return into PERSIA.

Besides the jewels, gold, silver, and other valuables already mentioned, he took with him near three hundred^g elephants, ten thousand horses, and as many camels, of which many were loaded with spoil. Most of the gold and silver was melted into large ingots, and slung over the backs of camels, horses and mules. If we reckon one half part of the thirty crores^h already mentioned to be in gold, and the other in silver, according to the ordinary computation of loads, even for common journies in PERSIA, would require five thousand seven hundred camels, and two thousand and fifty horses and mulesⁱ. The manufactures, furniture, and war-like weapons, it may be presumed, would require a much greater number.

It is computed that the houses and goods destroyed by fire, and the fields which were laid waste, amounted to near twenty crores^k; we may therefore reckon upon the whole, that this PERSIAN ravager spoiled the INDIANS of above one hundred and twenty millions of pounds.

As

^f The city of NADIR.

^g Some accounts say he took a thousand elephants, which seems to be much too great a number to have been collected, or to be of any use. These animals indeed carry large burthens; but except it be for artillery and such like uses, camels, horses, and mules, answer the purpose better. This is a long-lived animal, and yet I could never hear that there were such numbers in PERSIA; the number in the camp did not reach to thirty, and those which NADIR sent into TURKEY and RUSSIA did not exceed twenty.

^h 37,500,000 /
ⁱ This review of the matter would tempt one to believe that the treasure was not of such importance, though we may presume that it was a larger sum than ever was collected in one treasury. nor is it of consequence, since whatever it was, it is dissipated.

^k 25,000,000 /.

1739.

As to the number of souls who were plunged into eternity upon this unhappy occasion, they are not reckoned less than two hundred thousand; of whom fell between LAHOR and KARNAL, in the battle, and a few days afterwards, forty thousand; in the massacre one hundred and ten thousand; in the villages, and those who died by famine, fifty thousand. We will now leave the INDIANS to repair by industry and commerce, the havock created by their avaricious enemy, and follow NADIR in his march.

C H A P. XXVI.

NADIR continues his march from the gardens of SHALIMAR. *An instance of his vanity and avarice. His cruelty towards numbers of the peasants. Contribution of LAHOR. His passage over the CHANTROU obstructed. He returns back towards LAHOR. Confederacy of the AFGHANS and INDIANS to oppose his passage through the defiles. He seizes the plunder belonging to his own soldiers. His march to PEISHOR. KHUDAYAR KHAN refuses to acknowledge the sovereignty of NADIR, and is reduced. NADIR pursues his march to KANDAHAR. He sends his treasures to KÆLAT, and conquers KHIEVA and BOKHARA.*

THE necessary dispositions being made, on the sixth of MAY NADIR pursued his march from the gardens of SHALIMAR, directing his course to the plains of KARNAL, where the INDIANS first owned him as their conqueror. According to the ordinary consequence of vast possessions, the precautions he took, seemed to argue a greater inquietude for the preservation, than he had shewn sollicitude for the acquisition, of his riches.

When he arrived on the plains of KARNAL, he sent for the chief¹ of the town of that name, and commanded him to build a village on the spot he had incamped, and to call it by the name of FÂTEM ABAD²: for this purpose, it is said, he gave him five thousand rupees. It is not improbable, that an inclination to continue the memory of his victory, might induce

¹ ZENIDAR.² Signifies the habitation of victory.

induce him to be at this expence; but this sum of 600 l. is so very in- 1739.
considerable, that it plainly proves how strong the passion of avarice be-
came in his breast amidst such vast riches.

As the army was marching, the peasants watched their opportunities to plunder or kill the soldiers, who were sent out to provide necessaries; they also pillaged the exterior parts of the camp in the night, insomuch that the PERSIANS lost above a thousand camels, horses, and mules, before they reached TANISEER. The SHAH, enraged at this behaviour, gave orders for plundering that town, and putting the inhabitants to the sword. Other towns and villages suffered the same fate: By this step he intended to terrify the people into compliance, since he could not by any other means engage them to supply his army.

As ZEKARIAH KHAN, the governor of LAHOR, had made his submissions to NADIR, when he passed through the province of PENJAB in his way to DEHLIE; it was apprehended that the inhabitants had nothing to fear: but as soon as the KHAN heard of the massacre at DEHLIE, and of the severity with which the contributions had been exacted in that city, he foresaw the storm that was gathering. Resolving therefore not to be taken at a disadvantage, he summoned all the merchants, money-changersⁿ, and wealthy inhabitants, to bring in their quotas towards raising a crore of rupees^o. This sum was deemed the utmost which they could pay.

NADIR was no sooner arrived at the gardens of SHALIMAR, than he dispatched ABDUL BAKI KHAN, with a considerable body of troops, to demand a large contribution of LAHOR; and having passed through SERHIND, he was drawing near to the capital of the province, when ZEKARIAH KHAN went out to meet him. The crore of rupees was presented, with the strongest protestation that this sum was the utmost which the city could raise; that if it was his pleasure to pillage or to slaughter the inhabitants, they were unable to resist his forces, and therefore resigned to whatever should be determined. ABDUL BAKI KHAN had orders to demand

1739. demand a larger sum; but this just representation being made to the SHAH, the crore of rupees was accepted, and the PERSIAN army continued their march.

When they arrived on the banks of the CHANTROU, the bridge of boats prepared for their passage had been carried away by a sudden swelling of the waters; NADIR therefore directed his march back, and entered the province of PENJAB. A body of horse was dispatched to LAHOR the capital, to demand provisions. The inhabitants, who had hardly recovered from their dread of fire and sword, at the late approach of the PERSIAN army, and were impoverished by the contributions they had paid, now thought only of saving their lives by flight. ZEKARIAH KHAN was no sooner informed of the panic with which the people were struck, than he went and threw himself at NADIR's feet, and begged that he would not approach nearer the city, engaging at the same time that the bridge should be repaired without delay: it was accordingly performed, and the army passed over.

NADIR then directed his course towards REHNAS, a fortified city on the eastern banks of the INDUS near SUVAT, a branch of that river. Thence advancing to ATTOK, he attempted to pass the INDUS, into the dominions which had been lately yielded up to him. Here the want of a sufficient number of boats to form the bridge obliged him to halt: and this delay afforded time to the AFGHANS and the INDIANS, who inhabited the western side of the river, to take up arms. The vast booty which the PERSIANS had amassed, was a temptation not to be resisted; and they seemed resolved to try their fortune, if by uniting their forces they could seize some part of the plunder.

What their efforts would have produced, had they been carried into execution, it is not easy to determine. The PERSIAN king certainly thought himself in danger, and chose rather to negotiate for a free passage, than run a hazard where there was nothing to gain. The consideration of a vast treasure, had rendered the fierce and intrepid NADIR, cautious and circumspect. His mind; ever fertile in expedients, now suggested

suggested to him to write to NACIR KHAN, the late governor of CABUL, 1739. whom he had left at PEISHOR, commanding him in the most express terms to use his interest to disperse the tribes, who were assembled in the mountains. The KHAN immediately sent for the chiefs of this confederacy, and persuaded them to decline their enterprize, for which, according to his instructions, he engaged to give them ten lacks of rupees¹. However large this sum might appear upon another occasion, it was an object of very little consideration compared with the bulk of NADIR's treasure; he therefore remitted this sum without delay, and purchased a free passage².

In the mean time the bridge was preparing for his passage over the INDUS, when messengers arrived from the court of the GREAT MOGHOL, requesting in behalf of that prince the redemption of two rich feather-jewels, belonging to the head-dress of the sultana. Upon this, orders were given for searching the royal treasury, but no such jewels could be found. It was reasonable to presume that they had been brought away from the INDIAN court, and of course they must be in the possession of some officer or soldier in the army. This suggested to NADIR sufficient reason to challenge all precious stones as his property; accordingly he ordered strict search to be made, and that all should be brought into the treasury under penalty of death. Numbers of the soldiers, whose passion for gain was not perhaps inferior to that of their general, enraged to see the fruits of so long and perilous a march ravished from them, threw them into the INDUS; and others concealed them in the earth: insomuch, that altho' great quantities were collected, this extraordinary resolution it is believed cost some millions of crowns value to PERSIA. The jewels, plundered both by the private men and officers, must have been very considerable: the presents and bribes which they received, amounted to a great sum, particularly on the unhappy occasion of the massacre of DEHLIE, when many of the INDIAN lords and persons of distinction saved their lives by the mere force of their great riches. A great part of this, especially jewels which

¹ 125,000*l* ² It is said that other inhabitants of the mountains afterwards made the same demand, which he refused to comply with.

1739. which could be easily concealed, was not till then brought into the royal treasury¹. The quantity of precious stones, delivered up to NADIR upon this occasion, amounted to a great value, but neither of the jewels in question appeared till a considerable time after, when one of them was found among the sequestered effects of a general officer, who was put to death; the other never appeared.

It is amazing to consider the ascendancy which NADIR had acquired over his army, and that such a step as this did not produce a revolt²; but his address in sowing the seeds of jealousy and distrust among them was such, that they were afraid of each other, and this ever proved his best security. Numbers of them might now be more inclined to desert, than to give up their valuable plunder; yet the circumstances they were in, with regard to an enemy's country, was an insuperable obstacle to their taking such a step.

After passing the INDUS, he directed his march to PEISHOR, where he halted for some days: he left a PERSIAN general, with a considerable body of forces, but confirmed NACIR KHAN in the government of that province, and conferred several honours on him, in acknowledgment of his great services. From thence, continuing his rout towards CABUL, he detached ABDUL BAKI KHAN, with five thousand horse, to receive homage from KHUDAYAR KHAN, governor of PEKIER³. This KHAN had refused to pay homage to NADIR, now sovereign of that country, and collected a considerable body of forces to oppose the PERSIAN army. Finding that his late master the GREAT MOGHOL had not been able to support him, he resolved to try if he could obtain an independent sovereignty.

ABDUL

¹ See Vol. I. page 255 for the quantity of large stones on horse furniture.

² I was told in PERSIA, that he took from the soldiers all their money also, except one hundred crowns; some a coin's mention two hundred and fifty crowns, but I have some difficulty in believing either. As to jewels, they would be subject to discovery in the sale of them, which would not have been the case with money.

³ This country is to the south of CABUL on the INDUS, bordering upon MULTAN. I do not find it laid down by DE LISLE. There are several forts and strong places in it, such as LOUHRI, SEKIER, and TEKIER. The people of this country are partly MANOMJEDANS, and partly PAGANS.

ABDUL BAKI KHAN soon arrived on the frontiers of this country, but was in no situation to reduce KHUDAYAR KHAN by force. He therefore sent to acquaint this INDIAN lord of his arrival, and at the same time to advise him to make a ready submission. This offer being rejected with contempt, ABDUL BAKI informed the SHAH of the circumstances which he was in. NADIR being now near KANDAHAR, sent his treasures and heavy baggage under a numerous convoy into that strong fortress, and then directed his course south east through the country of HAZARIJAT. KHUDAYAR KHAN was no sooner informed of the march of the PERSIAN army, than he burnt a forest, laid waste the open country, and used his endeavours to poison the water. 1739.

This proceeding caused a new alarm in the MOGHOL's territories: NADIR was no sooner informed of the desperate measures which this INDIAN lord had taken to support himself, than he sent his commands to ZEKARIAH KHAN, the governor of LAHOR, and also to his son HAIAT ULLA KHAN, governor of MULTAN, to repair to his camp immediately, and to furnish his army with provisions. How great soever their reluctance, necessity obliged them to pay a ready obedience to the summons. ZEKARIAH KHAN was reputed an able politician: and this task now required the exercise of his abilities; since he had not only to provide the PERSIAN army with provisions, but also to obtain the submission of KHUDAYAR KHAN. The latter offered to make such presents as his circumstances permitted, with condition that the PERSIAN army would pursue their rout to KANDAHAR, without making any irruption into his territories; otherwise he persisted in his defiance.

This was a language to which the victorious king of PERSIA was not accustomed; he therefore ordered ZEKARIAH KHAN to bring to him those chiefs of the country who had submitted, as hostages for the good behaviour of their people; and at the same time to conduct his army by a rout, where they might be properly supported, in order to compel KHUDAYAR KHAN to surrender.

1739. - As soon as NADIR arrived in the neighbourhood of KHUDAABAD^a, the INDIAN chief retired with his riches to EMIR-KIOUT, a strong fort on the opposite side of the river HEST-NUD. ZEKARIAH KHAN renewed his entreaties in terms so persuasive, that at length assurance being sent that NADIR would pardon what was past, and accept a moderate present, KHUDAYAR KHAN consented to send his son, and to make his submission. This young lord was very kindly received, and entertained in a sumptuous manner, together with all his numerous attendance. In the mean while, NADIR ordered some parties of his troops to take possession of the boats in which the INDIANS came, and by favour of the night to repass the river. This was performed so well, that the INDIANS who guarded the fort of EMIR-KIOUT, taking them for the retinue of their KHAN's son, suffered the PERSIANS to enter, and take possession of it. The KHAN had time to make his escape, but at length thought proper to capitulate, and give up all his riches.

The news of this affair having reached the MOGHOL's court, a report prevailed, as if the insatiable avarice of NADIR was bringing him a second time into the INDIAN territories; these apprehensions alarmed the whole country, and occasioned a great consternation. Several of the princes^u who commanded in the mountains, formed a confederacy to oppose his passage; and his not invading their dominions, was imputed to the great preparations made to oppose him.

It is very hard to believe, that a canine appetite for gold should so far efface all sentiments of honour and clemency in the mind of NADIR, as to induce him to commit so flagrant a violation of the treaty lately concluded with the MOGHOL, and to obliterate the remembrance of his being a king, by an act so unworthy. The power derived from force only, can be no security, when princes throw off even the mask of justice, and as it were declare war against the rational species. Whatever suspicion he might lie under on this occasion, he gave great proofs of esteem
for

^a We are left entirely to seek for this city, the country to the west of the INDIAN sea, seems to be very little known to the map makers.

^u RAJAS

for ZEKARIAH 'KHAN,' by making him several presents, and sending him to DEHLIE with a number of fine horses for MAHOMMED SHAH. The INDIANS were soon after delivered from their fears, by the joyful news that the PERSIAN army was past KANDAHAR. 1739.

We have already observed, that whilst NADIR was in KANDAHAR, his son, RIZA KÖULI MYRZA, had made an incursion as far as BALKH, which submitted to him; but he was not able to subdue the OUSBEG TARTARS of KHIEVA and BOKHARA *, who, during the troubles in the PERSIAN empire, had made frequent inroads into KHORASAN, and carried many thousands of the inhabitants into slavery. These people are remarkable for their vivacity and love of liberty. As they are for the most part of the sect of the SUNNIS, they hate the PERSIANS; but the difference in religion has not occasioned such frequent contests, as their neighbourhood and strong propensity to rapine. KHORASAN had often suffered by their depredations, nor had they been intirely quiet during the absence of the PERSIAN army in INDIA. NADIR had some time before sent ambassadors to the KHAN of KHIEVA, demanding the PERISANS, numbers of whom were detained in slavery in that country. But these TARTARS were intoxicated with their former success, and having enjoyed an uninterrupted security for many years, seemed to have lost all sense of danger. Contrary to the laws of nations, which even in this country are deemed sacred, with respect to the representatives of kings, they put the PERSIAN ambassadors to death; only one, the least considerable in rank, was sent back to his master without his nose and ears. Such a proceeding could not but incense the impetuous NADIR, and draw on the fire of his resentment.

The occasion was now favourable for the reduction of these people. NADIR having detached a large body of his troops from KANDAHAR to K.ELAT with his treasures, took the rout through the kingdom of BALKH. He passed the river AMO, and arrived in the neighbourhood of BOKHARA about the beginning of OCTOBER, with an army of near fifty thousand

* Some antiquaries are of opinion, that these people are the descendants of the tribe of ISRAEL, whom SALAMAZAR, king of ASSYRIA, sent into MEDIA.

1739. thousand men. The OUSBEG TARTARS who inhabit this city and its district, submitted to him immediately. He set at liberty the PERSIANS who had been detained in captivity, and insisted about twelve thousand of the inhabitants who were fit to bear arms; these OUSBEGS being esteemed the best soldiers in TARTARY. In consequence of the ready submission of the KHAN of this country, NADIR invested him with the government of all the territories of BOKHARA to the north of the AMO, and also made very valuable presents to him and his dependents.

The KHAN of KHIEVA had taken the field with about twenty thousand men. He had hardly ever seen a more formidable army, and flattered himself with success: but as soon as he heard of the superior numbers of the PERSIANS, and that NADIR himself was at their head, he retired with precipitation towards his capital. The PERSIAN king being informed of the situation of the enemy, made such forced marches, that the OUSBEGS were obliged to stop at SHANKA^r. Here the KHAN made a brave resistance, but was at length obliged to surrender. NADIR challenged him with the murder of his ambassadors: he excused himself, alledging that it was done by the OUSBEGS without his knowledge. To this the PERSIAN king replied; "If you have not abilities to govern the few subjects who inhabit your territories, you do not deserve to live; and for the affront shewn me in the murder of my ambassadors, you have no title to die like men; you shall die like dogs." He then ordered the executioners to cut the throat of the KHAN and about thirty of his chief attendants; a punishment esteemed the most ignominious among the PERSIANS. Upon the news of the fate of this KHAN, all the towns and villages surrendered except the capital.

The inhabitants of KHIEVA shut their gates against the conqueror, resolving to oppose him to the last extremity. Several of them, who were apprehensive of the consequences of so rash an enterprize, attempted to leave the town, and were put to death as deserters. The number of their PERSIAN slaves was so great, that some were cruelly put to death in cold blood, merely out of fear of their rising, and the rest were imprisoned.

^r A city about half a day's journey to the eastward of KHIEVA.

prisoned. The 8th of NOVEMBER NADIR SHAH incamped on the east side of KHIEVA : he sent several messages and demanded a parley, but the OUSBEGS absolutely refused to grant it. The PERSIAN army therefore invested the city, and planted eighteen cannon, and sixteen mortars^a, at different places. They also raised machines of wood, from whence they could see over the walls : and after throwing up a breast-work, to guard themselves from the enemy's small shot, they attacked the town. These TARTARS were yet possessed of a few field-pieces, which they had taken from the unfortunate prince BECKAWITZ^a. On the 14th the SHAH ordered the town to be battered in breach^b. The engineers did their part so well, that the inhabitants soon became sensible of their rashness. Several breaches being now made, and the ditch almost filled, NADIR gave orders for storming : upon this the OUSBEGS surrendered at discretion. An inventory was taken of every thing in the city ; and all the foreigners^c were ordered to appear before the SHAH. 1739.

The 28th of NOVEMBER NADIR marched from KHIEVA, taking with him near twenty thousand PERSIANS who had been in captivity, with eight thousand OUSBEGS as recruits. He left a governor of his own appointing, attended

1739. attended only by a few PERSIANS, as if he was sure of the obedience of these TARTARS, or thought them not worth an army to keep them in awe.

CH A P. XXVII.

NADIR *returns to PERSIA. RIZA KOULI MYRZA murders SHAH TÆHMAS, and makes an attempt against his father's life. Conduct of NADIR towards his son. He arrives in the neighbourhood of ISFAHAN.*

NADIR having now conquered all his enemies on the eastern frontiers of his dominions, prepared to return into PERSIA. His chief concern was the security of his vast treasure; he therefore marched to KÆLAT, which is a few days journey to the southward of MESCHED. Here he established a sufficient guard of his best troops, and conferred the command on a brother of LUTF ALI KHAN.

It has been already remarked, that the first year of NADIR's absence had given his son RIZA KOULI MYRZA such a taste of power, that he exerted it in the most wanton manner on several occasions, to oppress the people, and to indulge his avarice^d. We have also taken notice that his father, upon being informed of these arbitrary proceedings, thought proper to restrain his authority. The beginning of this year a report prevailed at ISFAHAN, that the PERSIAN army had been defeated in INDIA, and that NADIR SHAH was slain. His son RIZA KOULI MYRZA received this account with a seeming satisfaction. In a real or affected persuasion that it was true, he in some measure assumed the legal authority. He began, by causing the unfortunate SHAH TÆHMAS to be put to death, together with all his family, who were prisoners at SEBSAWAR. The circumstances of the tragical end of this prince, seem to prove that NADIR was not dissatisfied with this action, and would hardly have called

^d Among other particulars it is related of him, that in a visit he received from the ARMENIAN patriarch, he demanded of this priest his cap and crozier, which were set with precious stones, alleging that he had occasion for them, for his father's government, and the use of his army.

called his son to any severe account for it, had not the motive been an impatient desire of wearing the diadem himself. 1739.

The person, employed in this regicide, was MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN*. He had been remarkably active in seizing this unfortunate prince; and it is probable he was now fearful, that if NADIR had met with any misfortune, TÆHMAS would be restored again to the throne of his ancestors. The murder was said to have been committed after this manner: MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN, under the pretence of friendship, represented to TÆHMAS that his life was threatened, and therefore advised him to retire either into TURKEY or RUSSIA, and that himself would facilitate his escape. As soon as this prince was in his possession, he reproached him with cowardice, told him he was unworthy to wear a crown, and at the same time gave a signal to his groom† to kill him.

Thus fell the last of the descendants of the famous ISMAEL SEFFIE, whose race had filled the throne of PERSIA for near two hundred and fifty years. It has been seen how remarkable this prince was for a series of misfortunes, during the last seventeen years. Providence seemed to have often interposed for his deliverance; and tho' neither his resolution nor abilities were extraordinary, yet in a less corrupt state he might have rendered his subjects happy, and by supporting his family, prevented that effusion of blood which has exhausted PERSIA of its inhabitants, & not totally subverted that antient monarchy.

NADIR, though returning in triumph, loaded with spoil, was now to suffer one of the bitterest calamities. As if Providence had ordained it as a punishment for his enormous offences, his eldest son RIZA KOULI MYRZA, for whom he had a paternal tenderness, formed a confederacy with a few other persons, to deprive his father of his life. For this purpose he employed a certain AFGHAN soldier to shoot the king, as he was returning from KÆLAT.

It

* This is the same person with whom I had such particular connections at ASTRABAD.

† The person who was put to death in the rebellion of ASTRABAD. See Vol I page 300

1739. It has been already explained, in what manner the PERSIAN kings travel upon common occasions, detached from their army. The SHAH was arrived in a narrow pass covered with wood, in the mountains which separate the provinces of KHORASAN and ASTRABAD², having with him only his women and eunuchs: here it was the intrepid AFGHAN dug a pit to conceal himself, from whence he might take his aim with the greater exactness. He fired his piece, and the bullet passed under NADIR's right arm, and shot him in the left hand: the horse also being wounded in the neck, through pain or surprize fell. The AFGHAN was preparing to issue from the wood, and finish his business with his sabre; but the eunuchs, drawing their sabres to protect their master, rendered the accomplishment of his purpose impracticable. A considerable reward was immediately offered for apprehending the assassin, and a promise of pardon if he would discover himself. Many of the inhabitants of the mountains were brought before the SHAH: some of them had offered sums of money to the soldiers to excuse their appearance. This was urged as a proof of their guilt, but NADIR commanded that they should be released, with this reflection: "These people are innocent. The man who has made so daring an attempt on my life, must be a person of distinguished bravery, whose courage is not inferior to my own."

It was not long a secret, that the contriver of this assassination was no less than his son RIZA KOULI MYRZA, whose manners we have already observed had so great a resemblance with those of his father. RIZA KOULI being brought before NADIR, he intreated him to think of his crime, to ask pardon, and promise obedience. "Consider," says he, "I am your general, your sovereign, your friend, your father. Consider the duty
" you

² This pass is supposed to be the same through which ALEXANDER pursued Bessus the PERSIAN traitor.

³ The discovery of this assassin was not made till above a year afterwards, when NADIR recollecting a certain man who had often distinguished himself in the field of battle, enquired after him; and being informed that this man had absented himself at such a time, it immediately occurred to him that he must certainly be the person who had shot at him. The SHAH therefore ordered that the man should be sought for, and brought before him. He was accordingly found in KANDAHAR, and conducted to the camp, where he confessed the fact. NADIR said to him, "You are a very brave fellow; but to prevent your taking such good aim, you must lose your eyes."

“ you owe me in these several relations. Reflect on the small acknowledgments which I require of you. You are in my power, but I would not have you perish. Live, be happy, and a king, whenever providence shall take me from the earth.” He employed several of his principal officers to persuade his son to repentance, but RIZA KOULI was inflexible, and obstinately persisted that he had done no wrong in attempting his father’s life. He told him to his face, “ You are a tyrant, and ought to die. I know the most you can do is to kill me.” The afflicted NADIR between rage and tenderness said, “ No; I will not take your life, but I will make you an example to all the princes of the earth; I will cut out your eyes.” RIZA KOULI, with a fierceness peculiar to himself, replied, “ Cut them out, and put them into . . . !”

Necessity thus obliged NADIR to deprive his darling son of his sight, and himself of all hopes of making him his heir. The genius and intrepidity of this young man had filled NADIR with sanguine expectations of continuing the diadem in his family, which indeed could hardly be expected by a successor of less resolution than himself. Some days after this event, NADIR commanded that his son should be brought before him, and he enquired of him, yet with a mixture of paternal tenderness, concerning his health. The son, still repugnant to every sentiment of filial affection, and not rendered less daring by his distress, replied, “ You have not blinded me so much as you have blinded all PERSIA: what the consequence must be, time will discover.” It is remarkable, that NADIR never after permitted his son to have any women, nor would he trust him in any place but under his own eye.

In FEBRUARY this year, the SHAH arrived with his army in the neighbourhood of ISFAHAN. The satisfaction which the PERSIANS felt upon his return, arose chiefly from the hopes that his immense riches, the fruits of a three years campaign, would free them from the heavy burthen of supporting a numerous army: how ill grounded their expectations were, we shall soon have occasion to relate.

D d 2

P A R T

† It must be observed, that the indecent mention of a woman of honour and distinction, is no less disrespectful in PERSIA, than in the polite parts of EUROPE, consequently it is the highest indignity to mention in gross terms the favourite wife of a king.

P A R T V.

FROM THE

RETURN OF NADIR SHAH TO
ISFAHAN FROM HIS INDIAN
EXPEDITION IN 1740,

- TILL

HE WAS ASSASSINATED IN 1747.

C H A P. XXVIII.

Reflections on the vanity of military exploits. NADIR sends a pompous embassy to RUSSIA, and another to TURKEY. Circumstances of the TURKS. NADIR's demands on them. His war with the ARABIANS. His conduct towards the ARMENIAN patriarch. His project of introducing a new religion into PERSIA. He orders a translation of the evangelists. Comparison of his character, and that of AKBAR, formerly emperor of INDIA.

1740. **T**HE affliction which NADIR must naturally have felt from the misfortune which happened to his darling son, gave place in some measure to the gratification of his vanity. It is reasonable to presume from the genius of this man, that more than half the joy of his triumphs would have been lost, but for the reflection of the figure he should make in the esteem of other princes.

Actions, truly heroic, like those of the deity, whose beneficence we should strive to imitate, derive no real excellence from applause, being

in themselves invariably good. The natural greatness and rectitude of the soul can never be expressed in actions destructive to mankind: and what for the most part are pompous triumphs, or the spoils of plundered provinces, but so many monuments of cruelty, ambition, or avarice? yet when our conduct will not bear the test of reason, our passions prompt us to seek a vain applause, and still we glory.

What reflections NADIR might now make upon himself, are not objects of our instruction so much, as those which we ought to make on him. As to his immense treasures, they served for little more than to enlarge his desire to support his tyrannical power, by the mere notion of his wealth; and to render PERSIA more emphatically miserable. But notwithstanding his extreme avarice, he sent a magnificent embassy with presents of great value to the RUSSIAN court, and another to the grand signior.

The ambassadors to the RUSSIAN empress were SAIDAR KHAN^k, and HUSSEIN KHAN, with a retinue of two thousand persons, who convoyed ten elephants with several jewels and other rich presents. SAIDAR KHAN died at KISLAR, but HUSSEIN proceeded to ASTRACHAN, where he was required to stop, till proper orders were sent from court for his entertainment. Such embassies gratify the pride of those princes by whom they are sent, but create a vast expence^l to those who are to receive them. It was not till the end of OCTOBER^m the next year, that the ambassador made his public entry into ST. PETERSBURG, which was in several respects magnificent, tho' part of the PERSIAN retinue made but a mean appearance. The court was not wanting in shewing this PERSIAN minister

^k This is the person mentioned in the Note, page 4, who died at KISLAR. He was an old man, and reputed very brave, and a lover of justice, but otherwise not tender of spilling blood. I was told the following circumstance concerning him; he was once observing that he wanted something to try his sabre, upon which a very old man in the company, acknowledging that he had lived long enough, offered his neck. SAIDAR took him at his word, and struck off his head.

^l It was said, that this ambassador made a demand of no less than 200 sheep, 2000 pounds of rice, and other provisions in proportion for his daily support.

^m The policy of princes in that part of the world, especially when things are in a precarious state, is often the cause of these delays. For a cure had been spent in the adjustment of the ceremonies, and in making provision for so numerous a retinue. For not less than twelve or fifteen hundred persons attended the ambassador to ST. PETERSBURG.

1740. After all the honour due to his rank. His business was to acquaint the sovereign of RUSSIA, of the great feats of his master in the conquest of INDIA, and of the immense spoil which he had brought from thence; a specimen of, which he presented to the RUSSIAN empress, in the elephants, jewels, and other valuables with which he was charged; that his master had also restored the INDIAN monarch to his dominions, and now offered his friendship to the sovereign of RUSSIA, with whom he was willing to enter into a defensive and offensive alliance.

We have already mentioned, that during his absence in the late expedition, he sent ambassadors to the grand signior, demanding a passport to travel through the OTTOMAN empire to MECCA. The TURKISH ministry considered this request as capricious, since it could never be presumed that such consent would be granted; and if he meant to take the liberty of making that pilgrimage with an army; it would rather be with a view to plunder the place of its immense riches, than to offer up his prayers of thanksgiving for his successes in INDIA. The TURKS were indeed afraid that he meant to feed his insatiable avarice with this precious morsel. What added to their terror, was the consideration of the extraordinary interposition of providence in the peace which he had made with them, in consequence whereof he had employed his forces in so distant a country, and was coming home loaded with the spoils of INDIA. It could hardly be expected that his military genius would suffer him to be long idle: and looking on themselves almost as the only power against whom he could turn his arms, they concluded a peace with the RUSSIANS and IMPERIALISTS, and made great preparations for marching an army into ASIA.

Some time after NADIR sent an envoy to acquaint the PORT, that notwithstanding they refused him a passage to MECCA, it was his intention

^a There are several of these yet remaining in ST PETERSBURG, which, tho' entirely useless, are supported for curiosity, and the honour of the sovereign. The ordinary food of these animals was rice, meal, and such like, but the RUSSIANS have very judiciously taught them to eat hay.

^b It was said this ambassador demanded ship-carpenters, which the RUSSIANS refused, objecting that they had none except foreigners, who were engaged to serve them for a certain time, but that they had no power to send them out of their country. The prosecution of the design which NADIR had formed of building ships on the CASPIAN sea, was the cause of the early ruin of our CASPIAN trade.

to live in friendship with the grand signior. The new ambassador, whom he charged with his compliments to the OTTOMAN emperor, carried several rich jewels, nine elephants, and a great number of camels, as a present: and according to the dignity he assumed, and the splendor of eastern monarchs, his retinue was composed of near two thousand persons. As their motions were slow, they did not arrive till the beginning of the next year. The grand vizir received this ambassador with the utmost demonstration of esteem; however, when the purport of his commission was demanded, he seemed to be offended, declaring that he would communicate it only to the grand signior in person. The TURKS soon found that NADIR was no less arrogant in his proposals of the terms of friendship, than ostentatious of his riches, as appeared by the prodigality of his presents; under these circumstances they were induced to watch the ambassador as a secret enemy.

NADIR again renewed his claim to all the provinces and cities which in antient times belonged to the crown of PERSIA; and insisted that the TURKS ought to pay the expence of the late war, or yield some provinces as an equivalent. These demands appeared to the TURKS imperious and exorbitant, and they concluded that the SHAH of PERSIA meant only to find a pretext to break with them. As the late wars had exhausted their treasuries, and the army was in arrears, orders were sent to the BASHAS in all their respective governments, to collect the taxes, and remit them immediately to court.

In the mean while NADIR employed himself in reducing the ARABIAN rebels^p, who had revolted, during his absence: the OUSBEGS of KHIEVA had also taken up arms, and destroyed the PERSIAN KHAN who had been appointed their governor, together with all the native subjects of PERSIA, whom NADIR had left in that city. The ARAL TARTARS made inroads, and involved that country in great distraction, so that all communication was cut off, and preparations were made to attack them afresh. For this purpose NADIR marched with a numerous body of forces to TEHRAN, in order to defend the province of KHO-

RASAN,

1740. RASAN, in case it should be invaded, or to send detachments against the OUSBEGS^a.

We have already seen in what manner he acted as to the affair of religion. The beginning of this year, a dispute happened between the ARMENIAN patriarch, and some ROMISH missionaries. The matter being necessarily referred to NADIR, he fined the patriarch twenty-four thousand crowns, alledging that priests had no occasion for riches, that they only served to perplex the mind, and take it off from pursuits of a religious nature, but as to himself, the support of his army rendered money very necessary.

It will not appear a subject of surprize, that a prince who had the courage to appropriate to himself by an arbitrary act all the revenues of the clergy of the national religion, should tax the chief of his subjects of a different persuasion. We find him indeed often aiming to confound the distinctions of the religions already professed by his people, as if he meant to introduce one of his own contriving. About this time he ordered a sumptuous mausoleum to be built at MESCHED, in which he proposed to have his body laid. towards this no cost was spared, the jasper tomb in which TAMERLANE was laid at BALKH^c was brought from thence at a great charge, however, as it did not suit the place, he returned it to its antient mansion. It is remarkable that this mausoleum was erected intirely by christians, at the same time as he caused an ARMENIAN church to be built by his MAHOMMEDAN subjects.

To attempt any desperate invasion of the liberties of mankind, no method seems to be more effectual than that of depreciating or subverting the established religion of a country^d. The subject of religion will ever be of the highest moment to mankind, since it is only another word to express the belief of the being of a^d God, and the immortality of the soul, but at the same time that it has taken root in the hearts,^e and

^a It may be presumed that he sent fresh forces against these TARTARS, for he had a free communication with them in 1744, and was supplied with recruits from KHIEVA and BOKHARA.

^b It is thought by some that the remains of this TARTAR hero were deposited at SAMARCAND, which might be the case originally, and upon the decay of that place the tomb be brought to BALKH.

^c With some exceptions however. The people of GREAT BRITAIN owe their liberty, in a great measure, to the reformation.

and influences, the conduct of one part of mankind, it has served as a political engine, or the instrument of temporal advantages to those who are vulgarly said to have no religion. . . PERSIA was once chosen as a more peculiar scene, where the Almighty manifested his power in a very singular manner; but many ages have past since the substance of religion seems to have been changed for the shadow. We find, however, a remarkable aptitude in the PERSIANS to the belief of things relating to a future state.

NADIR took frequent occasion to mention the feats of ALI in terms of contempt; arraigning his conduct, as a soldier, for leading his army into the deserts of ARABIA, where numbers perished for want of water. "And why," says he, addressing himself to the people; "instead of praying to ALI "do you not call on God." In his religious schemes he appeared to have a complicated motive: he sought to amuse his people, and at the same time to increase his fame, by establishing a new faith, after the manner of his predecessors. As he had destroyed the SEFFIE family, which had been established on the throne of PERSIA on a principle of piety and faith; so he seemed desirous to be the original of a new race of kings, on the basis of new tenets in religion. This motive was so peculiarly adapted to the genius of the PERSIANS, that we may naturally conclude he expected to derive from hence a security to himself and his family.

Towards the close of this year, he caused a translation of the four evangelists to be made into PERSIC. It seemed, however, from the manner in which he conducted this business, to be more the effect of caprice, than of any steady and consistent plan. The affair was put under the direction of MYRZA MEHTI, a man of some learning, who being vested with a proper authority for the purpose, summoned several ARMENIAN bishops and priests, together with divers missionaries of the ROMISH church, and PERSIAN MULLAHS, to meet him at ISFAHAN. As to the latter,

* ALLAH is the name they give the deity. It is remarkable, that the TARTARS when they believe themselves to be dying, repeat this word, "ALLAH, ALLAH," continually, as then only to be saved, till they waste their spirit, and expire.

1740. latter, they could not be gainers; since the change, if any took place, was to be in prejudice of MAHOMMEDANISM. Besides, NADIR's conduct towards them had been severe to an extreme, and unprecedented; many of them therefore gave MYRZA MEHTIE large bribes to excuse their appearance.

Among the christians summoned on this occasion, only one ROMISH priest, born in PERSIA, was a sufficient master of the language, to enter upon a work of so critical a nature. As to the ARMENIANS, tho' they are born subjects to PERSIA, and intermixed with the inhabitants, yet there are very few of them who understand the language fundamentally. It was natural to expect, that MYRZA MEHTIE and the PERSIAN MULLAHS, would be more solicitous how to please NADIR, and support the credit of MAHOMMEDANISM, than to divest themselves of prejudices, and become masters of so important a subject. This translation was dressed up with all the glosses which the fables and perplexities of the khoran could warrant; their chief guide was an antient ARABIC and PERSIAN translation. Father DES VIGNES, a FRENCH missionary, was also employed in this work, in which he made use of the vulgate edition. They were but six months in completing this translation, and transcribing several fair copies of it.

1741. In MAY following, MYRZA MEHTIE, with the PERSIAN MULLAHS, and some of the christian priests, set out from ISFAHAN for the PERSIAN court, which was then held in the incampment near TAHIRAN. NADIR received them with some marks of civility, and had a cursory view of the performance. Some part of it was read to him; on which occasion he made several ludicrous remarks on the mysterious part of the christian religion; at the same time he laughed at the JEWS, and turned MAHOMMED and ALI equally into ridicule. Under such circumstances, it was impossible this performance should produce any good effect. He observed that the evangelists did not agree in their accounts, more than the MAHOMMEDAN and christian priests; therefore he must remain under the same difficulty that he was in before: that out of both, if it pleased GOD to give him health, he would engage to make a religion much better than any which had

had been yet practised by mankind, with several other vague reflexions of the like nature. He then dismissed these church-men and translators with some small presents, not equal in value to the expence of their journey.

It seems as if NADIR had his religion to seek, but this project, under the present state of affairs, and considering the passion he had for military achievements, was very ridiculous, and by no means agreeable to that seriousness with which ORIENTAL princes are generally inclined to treat this important subject. What exalted notions ought not the contemplation of the christian religion to inspire in us, when we observe the cruelty and extravagant principles of government, which generally prevail at the courts of MAHOMMEDAN princes! In how shining a light do those appear, whose hearts are warmed with a generous desire of acting up to the dignity peculiar to the christian religion! Nor ought it to be objected, that avarice and ambition have often involved the christian world in distress, when we have such irresistible proof of those proceedings being diametrically opposite to the principles of christianity.

To set the different characters of two eastern princes in contrast with each other, we shall in the note here subjoined give a letter, wrote by JILAL O'DIN MAHOMMED AKBAR, emperor of HINDOSTAN, to the king of PORTUGAL in 1582. This letter^a seems to exhibit a remarkable proof, how the same freedom

^a The aggrandizer of religion, a title which he prefixed to his name when he mounted the throne
 " GLORY eternal to the true king, whose dominions are safe from decay, and whose kingdom is everlasting. The extent of the heavens, and the boundaries of the earth, are but minute parts of his creation, and infinite space but a small point of his productions. He has regulated the order of the universe, and the government of the sons of ADAM, by the understanding of kings, who exercise justice. By his decrees, the ties of love, and bonds of affection, are fastened, and he has implanted in the various beings and creatures of his workmanship, the passion of inclination and union, with a mutual tendency to society and praises without end are due to the souls of prophets and apostles, who walked in the paths of righteousness, and directed the way to obtain everlasting felicity.

" Those who have improved their understandings, and studied the laws of nature, know, that this terrestrial world, is but a mirror of the spiritual one, and that nothing is more desirable than love, or more sacred than friendship inasmuch as the economy and good order of the world is owing to affection, and the harmony of minds. For wherever the sun of love shineth on the heart,

E c 2

^a The MAHOMMEDANS, according to the style of the eastern languages, of which our specimen is a most parts a remarkable specimen, begun their letters, and most of their other writings with the praises of God

1741. freedom of sentiment may operate either on the virtuous or on the vicious side. The emperor AKBAR, tho' not so great a warrior, had as liberal a mind,

" heart, it clears the soul from the darkness of mortality How ought these qualities to be diligently
 " sought by princes, whose friendly correspondence is the cause of happiness to the world, and to
 " the inhabitants thereof! For this reason it has been my constant and earnest endeavour, to strengthen
 " the ties of friendship, and the bonds of union, among the creatures of the Almighty, especially
 " among kings, whom God by his favour has so highly exalted, and so peculiarly distinguished from
 " the rest of mankind

Your royal majesty, who is endowed with intellectual knowledge, and supports the ordinances
 " of Jesus, stands in no need of praise or description Our neighbourhood* with your renowned
 " majesty, renders our friendship and alliance indispensably necessary, but as a personal conference is
 " not practicable, the want thereof must be supplied by embassies, and mutual correspondencies, that
 " our affairs, and the desires of our hearts, may be manifested to each other

" Your majesty knows, that philosophers and divines, in all nations, and in all ages, concerning
 " the visible and intellectual world, agree, that the former ought not to be of any consideration,
 " compared with the latter yet even the wise men of these times, and the great ones of all nations,
 " labour and toil to acquire the perishing things of this visionary state; and consume the greatest
 " part of their lives, and their choicest hours, in procuring material delights, being swallowed up,
 " and dissolved in fleeting pleasures, and transitory joys Notwithstanding these obstructions, and
 " the extensive business of my government, the most high God, through his eternal favour and per-
 " petual grace, has inclined my heart always to seek him And as he has subjected the dominions
 " of many powerful princes to me, I endeavour to govern them with understanding All my sub-
 " jects are happy, for his will, and my duty to him, is the end of all my desires and actions.

" Mankind are for the most part chained with the bonds of fashion and constraint, regarding the
 " customs of their forefathers, or their cotemporaries and relations, and without examining the ar-
 " guments or reasons for it, give an implicit assent to that religion in which they have been brought
 " up thus depriving themselves of the means of discovering the truth, which is the business and
 " end of reason For my own part, I sometimes converse with the learned of all religions †, and
 " profit by their respective discourses But as the veil of language interposes, it is expedient that
 " you send unto me such a person as can distinctly relate and explain his faith It has already reached
 " my fortunate ears, that the heavenly books ‡, the Pentateuch, the Psalm, and Gospels, are tran-
 " slated into ARABIC and PERSIC Should a translation of these, or any other books of general
 " use and advantage, be procurable in your country, let them be sent to me

" For a further confirmation of our friendship, and to secure the foundation of affection and unity,
 " I have sent my trusty friend, the learned and honourable SEID MAZUFFER, whom I have parti-
 " cularly favoured and distinguished he will personally communicate to you several matters, in which
 " you may confide Always keep open the doors of embassy and correspondence, and peace be to
 " him who follows the guide Written in the month RIBDI AYAL 990 || "

* Alludes to the possessions which the PORTUGUESE had at that time in INDIA
 † Among these are reckoned the scriptures of the christians by some MAHOMEDANS, who object only that we have corrupted the gospel, whilst others pretend, that when the khoran was brought on the earth, the gospel was taken into heaven.

† He was fond of the
 ‡ Among these are reckoned the scriptures of the christians by some MAHOMEDANS, who object only that we have corrupted the gospel, whilst others pretend, that when the khoran was brought on the earth, the gospel was taken into heaven.
 || ARJL 1582.

mind, as NADIR SHAH. If we may believe this letter was dictated by the heart, how different were the objects that engaged their attention! The one consulted the arts of peace to render his subjects happy; the other delighted only in war; and we see what calamities attended it.

C H A P. XXIX.

Revolt of the MUNTISIKS from the TURKISH government. Short description of them and their country. The city of BASSORA under alarm from the ARABS. Conduct of ACHMED BASHA. BASSORA threatened with a siege by the PERSIANS. NADIR marches against the LESGEES; and meets with several repulses in DAGISTAN. The RUSSIANS alarmed at his approach. The LESGEES desire the protection of RUSSIA. The PERSIANS make war with the ARABIANS, and are repulsed. Distress of PERSIA. Dangerous situation of the TURKS. They reduce the ARABIAN rebels. Great preparations in PERSIA for a war.

IN the beginning of this year, the MUNTISIKS, with some other tribes of ARABIANS, who had lately been under ACHMED BASHA, threw off the TURKISH yoke. These people generally encamp during the summer season in the district of BASSORA. The EUPHRATES, which waters this country, renders it very agreeable, at the same time that grain, vegetables, and pasturage, are in great abundance. It is remarkable that this, as well as the other tribes of the ARABIANS, appear to be a very different people in the field, from what they are in great cities. When they are associated with the neighbouring nations, they are gentle and polite; but when they take the field, the fresh air inspires them with different sentiments, and their expertness in the use of the lance and sabre, renders them fierce and intrepid. Their skill in horsemanship, and their capacity of bearing the heat of their burning plains, gives them also a superiority over their enemies; hence every petty chief in his own district considers himself as a sovereign prince, and as such exacts customs from all passengers.

Their

1741: Their conduct in this respect has often occasioned their being considered in no better light than robbers, though many of them are hospitable and generous, as well as brave and sober. Towards those who ask their protection they are remarkably disinterested: numbers of them are distinguished for their vivacity and penetration; they have also a reputation for poetry and astrology. They generally marry within their own tribe: their women are very chaste; indeed they make it death to be otherwise; and there are several instances of fathers killing their own daughters for incontinence; yet for robbery or murder in the field they seldom punish. The different tribes are often at war with each other, and the pillage acquired by this means is looked upon as an honourable possession. When they plunder caravans travelling through their territories, they consider it as reprisals on the TURKS and PERSIANS, who often make inroads into their country, and carry away their corn and their flocks. In this part of ARABIA, anciently called CALDÆA^w, is seldom seen either cloud or mist.

The jurisdiction of ACHMED BASHA had extended as far as the PERSIAN gulph, and included BASSORA. The OTTOMAN court being now jealous of ACHMED, this government was abridged, and confined to that of BAGDAT; the revenues of the BASHA were consequently decreased one thousand purses^x, which rendered him indifferent in regard to the preservation of BASSORA. This city had been for some time under alarms, the MUNTISIKS threatening to pillage it; which indeed was practicable, had they made the attempt, the inhabitants being unprovided for a siege. The commander exerted himself to put the place in a posture of defence, and at the same time wrote to ACHMED BASHA to come or send troops to his assistance. The BASHA was then upon an expedition against the KOURDS BILBAZ. As soon as he heard of the revolt of these ARABIANS, he returned to BAGDAT, and after collecting a body of forty thousand men, he marched to the relief of BASSORA.

To all human appearance ACHMED might have destroyed these ARABIANS; but after some light skirmishes he returned to BAGDAT. He had artfully

^w This is the country bordering on the government of BAGDAD northward from BASSORA.

^x Garrouches or purses, each of 500 dollars, at 4*l.* are equal to 10,000*l.*

artfully sown divisions among the chiefs of the ARABS, particularly the MUNTISIKS and BENILAMES; by this means he became their arbitrator, and turned the scale, insomuch that he appointed and deposed their chiefs, as he found it most for his interest: this was the reason for his declining to fight them. Besides, he thought it necessary to return immediately to his government; for he foresaw, that NADIR SHAH would attack the TURKS; and if he engaged himself at the head of an army out of his jurisdiction, the port might probably insist on his taking the command against the PERSIANS, to which he was not the least inclined. He knew that by such means he should put himself in the power of the grand signior, whose good-will he had some reason to suspect; or at least that he should engage with an enemy, against whom he apprehended he should make the best defence within his walls.

In the mean while the ARABAIN HOULES continued to act vigorously against the PERSIANS, who could not support the war against them for want of ships. These people made several descents on the PERSIAN coast, and carried off great numbers into slavery. The end of this year, NADIR sent an officer to require the delivery of his subjects in BAS-SORA, which was threatened with a siege by the PERSIANS; whilst the coldness of ACHMED BASHA towards the TURKISH interest, rendered him suspected of holding a correspondence with the PERSIAN king, and gave great occasion of alarm at CONSTANTINOPLE.

There is a proverbial saying among the PERSIANS, "If any PERSIAN king is a fool, let him march against the LESGEEES;" by which is plainly understood, that however potent an army may be, the situation of the mountains of DAGISTAN is such, and the people are so brave, that the success of an expedition against them must be very precarious. NADIR, whom no PERSIAN king exceeded in vanity or ambition, determined to try his fortune against them. They had given him great offence upon several occasions, particularly by that incursion during his absence in INDIA, in which his brother IBRAAIM KHAN was slain; nor was SHIRVAN ever free from their inroads; so that great part of that province

1741. province was rendered desolate. The end of this year NADIR marched at the head of thirty five thousand men into SHIRVAN, and from thence directed his course into the mountains of the LESGEES. In order to facilitate his progress, he caused vast quantities of wood to be hewn down on both sides the road, designing to frustrate any attempt which these TARTARS might make to be in ambuscade. In this he seemed also to have a further view. The attack which his son had lately made on his life in the streights of ASTRABAD, rendered him the more circumspect, nor was he ignorant that the LESGEES are as crafty as they are brave*.

1742. About the beginning of this year he entered DAGISTAN. Here he found a very different people from the INDIANS, whom he had so lately conquered. Instead of marching through open and fertile plains, inhabited by a rich and effeminate people, he was to climb up mountains, in many places inaccessible, and which in general served as a natural bulwark to those vallies, where only he could expect to find provisions. These were defended by a stout hardy people, whose love of liberty had through ages rendered them invincible: and if he could penetrate through the defiles into these vallies, his enemies might still take shelter in their mountains, and render all his attempts abortive.

The terror of his arms had however induced some of them in the southern parts to send hostages, and make their submission. Of these he removed a considerable number into KHORASAN, as well to people that province, as to prevent their future irruptions into the PERSIAN dominions. This step served only to irritate the other LESGEES. NADIR having left one of his generals with a body of eight thousand men at a pass, which commands an entrance into the mountains, he marched forward in pursuit of the CARACAITA* LESGEES: these having retired, and drawn him deep into their country, alarmed the inhabitants of the hills. After uniting some considerable bodies of their forces, they came down during the night, and put his whole army into the utmost confusion. They even attacked the royal tent, took away some of NADIR's treasure, and several of his women.

* See Vol I page 372 to 375.

* This word signifies black villagers. These are esteemed some of the bravest people among the LESGEES.

¹ In the mean while, the PERSIAN general, who was left with eight thousand men to secure the communication with SHIRVAN, was also attacked with great fury. The LESGEES surprized this body of troops^b, and having the advantage of a wood and rising ground, they made great hayock among the PERSIANS, before the latter were able to repulse them. 1742.

After many fruitless attempts, NADIR found his army in great distress for provisions. SHIRVAN had been impoverished to an extreme degree, so as not to be able to supply him, nor was the communication open for caravans; he therefore directed his course to DERBEND, the inhabitants of which soon felt the fatal effects of his neighbourhood. Here he began to be extremely sensible of the great use of ships, by means of which he might receive a supply of provisions from the southern coast of the CASPIAN SEA. This circumstance calls to mind a memorable transaction of this year^c, with relation to the conduct of JOHN ELTON, the ENGLISH factor, whose injudicious engagement gave so great offence to the RUSSIAN court, and so fatal a wound to our CASPIAN commerce: but there has been already too much said on this subject, to need any further observation.

This mighty conqueror was now brought so low, that the remains of his shattered forces, reduced to twenty thousand men, must have deserted or totally perished, had they not been supplied by the RUSSIANS. Every part of the world furnishes us with instances, of the love of gain carrying private men beyond the bounds prescribed by laws. I never could conceive, that NADIR entertained the least thought of invading the RUSSIAN dominions, but it was sufficient matter of alarm that he attempted to subdue the LESGEES; therefore orders were sent from court, that no provisions should be conveyed as merchandize to the PERSIAN army. However, the traders of ASTRACHAN had assurance of so vast a profit, that they could not resist the temptation, as I have already explained^d: but DERBEND notwithstanding

^b A FRENCH missionary who was present in the PERSIAN camp upon this occasion, informed me of several particulars of the great bravery of the PERSIANS. ^c We find ELTON was at NADIR's camp. See Vol I. page 153.

^d Vol. I. page 127.

1742. withstanding suffered such distress, that a great part of the inhabitants perished by famine.

The long continuance of the PERSIAN army on the RUSSIAN frontiers, created a suspicion at the court of ST. PETERSBURG, that NADIR would make pretensions to KISLAR, as being built on the PERSIAN territories. This is certain, that he took great offence at the conduct of a RUSSIAN officer towards some of his troops, who approached too near to that fort; but for this, satisfaction was made him by the court. Though the temptation of gain had thus engaged the RUSSIAN merchants to supply the PERSIANS, yet the court of ST. PETERSBURG was so far alarmed at their approach, that great magazines were ordered to be formed in AS-TRACHAN. This city was also put in a state of defence, and a body of troops, to the number of twenty thousand, under the command of general TARAKANOFF, were ordered to file off towards KISLAR.

The LESGEEs had intimated their desire of putting themselves under the protection of RUSSIA, from the time of NADIR's first invading their country; and it certainly was the interest of that empire to support the independency of those brave mountaineers, who form so safe a barrier against the PERSIANS. The arrival of the RUSSIAN troops contributed to defeat NADIR's designs, so that he found himself obliged to abandon an enterprize to which his skill and fortune were not equal.

As soon as the RUSSIAN general arrived in the neighbourhood of DAGISTAN, the LESGEEs made application to him; and from an apprehension of the danger they might be exposed to, in case NADIR was determined to prosecute his design of reducing them, they wrote to this commander as follows:

" Most Honoured and most accomplished general and commander in chief,

*" Our most humble petition consists in this: all the inhabitants of
" DAGISTAN having been informed that you are arrived near the fron-
" tiers of KISLAR with an imperial army, and that your intention is to
" defend and protect the subjects of her-imperial majesty in ANDREWSKA,
" KOSLOKOFI, and BAXAN, as also all the chiefs and rulers of the states*

" bordering

“ bordering¹ on the dominions of her imperial majesty: after longing
 “ expectations of your arrival, we have sent our deputies in the name
 “ of the whole nation to desire your intercession, that her imperial ma-
 “ jesty may receive us under her puissant protection, and permit us to
 “ be her slaves. We are determined to hold the golden border of her
 “ imperial robes, and in spite of all the evils that may threaten us, we
 “ will not be dragged from them, nor seek any other protection, nor
 “ acknowledge any other sovereign than God and her imperial majesty.

“ We hereby make a solemn oath of allegiance to her imperial ma-
 “ jesty, whom we most humbly implore to protect us against our ene-
 “ mies, and in her exalted clemency to give a favourable answer to our
 “ petition. And that her puissant majesty may know in what num-
 “ bers our troops consist, we send you a list as follows:

“ ACHMED KHAN the OUSMAI has	- - -	12,000 men
“ The tribe ^e of APARZ	- - -	13,000
“ ACHMED KHAN lord ^f of SCHUNKETIN	- - -	2,700
“ In the districts of KANSCHUKUL	- - -	8,000
“ In ABY	- - -	5,000
“ In ABUGAL and KALACKSKY	- - -	7,000
“ In CARACK ^g	- - -	7,500
“ In the districts of KUSTI 500. In KLY 2,500	- - -	3,000
“ In GEDAT 4000. In KINJODE 1000; and in KU- “ RADA 1000.	- - -	6,000
		“ 66,200 ^h ”

These people, known to the world, but particularly to the PERSIANS, for their bravery and steady love of liberty, now defended themselves against the conqueror of INDIA, the most powerful of all the monarchs of the east. NADIR saw, though too late, that he had committed a very false

F f 2

step;

^e HORDA.^f BEG.^g These I presume are the CARACAITA, who distressed

NADIR's army so much.

^h This number seems greatly to exceed what these people have been generally thought able to bring into the field, tho' the several divisions of them may have easily created mistakes as to their strength.

1742. step; nor could he retire, without weakening his interest in PERSIA; and his reputation in general. He was sensible moreover that these very LESGEEs would be encouraged by his retreat, to insult all the frontier country, and treat the PERSIANS in those parts as a conquered people, unless he employed a more numerous body of forces to guard SHIRVAN, than consisted with his other designs. However, of the two evils, it seemed the greatest to waste his time and destroy his troops, when he might employ them usefully in other important projects.

From this time we find NADIR secretly disgusted with the RUSSIAN court; however, after his return into PERSIA he sent for the minister of her imperial majesty who attended the army, and told him, "that he was surprised it ever should be imagined he intended to invade the RUSSIAN dominions: that it was true he had not been treated with respect, RUSSIA having failed to send a solemn embassy to congratulate him on his exaltation to the throne of PERSIA; but as he understood there had been great changes at ST. PETERSBURG, he excused that formality:" at the same time he desired the minister to dispatch a courier to his court to inform the empress, "that he was intirely disposed to support the peace and good understanding which subsisted between the two empires."

During the course of this unfortunate expedition in the north, affairs in the south seemed to preface as little felicity to PERSIA. TAGHI KHAN who commanded in SHIRASS, was sent by the king into the country of NIMROUZ¹, in quality of general and admiral, with orders to build ships at BENDER EBOU CHEHRE. This KHAN was no sooner arrived upon the coast; than he demanded of the FRENCH, the DUTCH, and other EUROPEAN nations, ships and ship-builders: and at length, either by money or forcible measures, he obtained a fleet of ships. One great instance of NADIR's cruelty exercised towards the people at this time, was that of obliging them to cut timber in MAZANDERAN², and transport it to BENDER ABASSI. In a strait line, this is six hundred and sixty miles, and if

¹ I find most of the maps which have fallen under my inspection, are very deficient with regard to these places. The ARABS inhabit the north coast of the PERSIAN gulf, and part of the banks of the TIGRIS and EUPHRATES, besides their proper country of ARABIA. ² See Vol. I. page 222.

we consider the circuit they must take to render the road practicable, we must calculate at least one third more: so that it was very plain from this proceeding, that he did not so much consider how things were to be done, as that his commands should be executed at all events. Great quantity of timber was cut on this occasion; but it was transported no farther than the district of VERAMEH, where it probably remains to this day. 1742.

The ARABIAN IMAM or chief of MESCAT being deposed, fled with his family and treasures on board his ships then in the port, and sailed to KHURFEKIAN¹, where he landed. From thence he proceeded to JUFAR, where was TAGHI KHAN with the PERSIAN forces. His intention was to put himself under the protection of the PERSIANS, on condition they would assist him to recover his dominions from his rebellious subjects. This design being discovered, several of his followers abandoned him, and carried the vessels again to MESCAT. This incident was attended with the junction of the HOULES and MESCATS. The new chief of the latter being informed that TAGHI KHAN, at the instigation of the deposed IMAM, intended to direct all his force against that city, retired with his troops to MATRA, a place a league distant. MESCAT being thus abandoned, the PERSIANS entered it without any precaution: and the ARABIANS taking advantage of the false security of their enemies, surprized and put them to the sword. The MESCATS were also victorious at sea.

While NADIR was thus engaged in war, by land and sea, and at the same time forming a great army with design to act against the TURKS, PERSIA groaned under the burthen of insupportable taxes. The treasures of INDIA served only to increase the misery of the people, by affording them a frequent and melancholy subject of reflection on the avarice of their king. Notwithstanding the vast projects which NADIR had formed, and the numerous forces he was preparing, in order to carry his designs into execution, he had not yet touched his INDIAN treasures, since they were deposited at KFLAT. What could be the effect of such a conduct? Exorbitant taxes, exacted with all the aggravating circumstances which inhumanity can suggest, drove thousands to despair. Whole villages and towns retired into the mountains,

¹ This place is on the southern coast of the PERSIAN gulf

1742, mountains, to avoid the barbarous treatment shewn them by the SHAH's collectors. Crowds of the people fled into the northern parts of INDIA, where their king had so lately triumphed; and great numbers put themselves under the protection of the TURKS. On the southern coast some fled into ARABIA; and not a few took every opportunity of transporting themselves by sea into the MOGHOL's empire. In the heart of PERSIA things took the same course. The ARMENIANS and others, who were equally distressed by exactions, left their habitations under the pretence of commerce or religious pilgrimages; insomuch that the RAHDARS¹ were ordered to examine passports. The freedom of egress, which used to prevail, was much interrupted, on this occasion, orders being given to the DAROUGAS^m, and also to the RAHDARS of great cities, not to let any one pass near the frontiers without passports. As these were responsible if any person missed them, they were very vigilant in their duty. The PERSIANS usually travel with their women, and all the furniture necessary to life; under these circumstances it was very difficult for them to escape, had they been sure of bread in foreign climates.

This was one great reason why JULFAⁿ was not totally abandoned by the ARMENIANS. The government of ISFAHAN, which is reckoned twenty-four leagues long, and as many broad, comprehends the districts of TCHI, MARBIN, KIERARIDGE, KAHAB, BARAAN, PERHAVAR, ELKHAN, and ROUNDESTER. Some of these were formerly well peopled; but now they exhibited only a dreary waste, most of the inhabitants being fled or dispersed: numbers had taken a precarious refuge in the mountains of LORISTAN; their lands were left untilld, and their houses mouldered into ruins. In short, all the distresses of an unsuccessful war, or the invasion of a barbarous enemy, could not plunge the people into greater misery than the victories of their tyrannical king, who seemed more solicitous to humble his own subjects, than his enemies.

This

¹ RAHDAR is the term given to those who are fixed at certain posts in the highways, either to examine passengers, or receive toll. According to an ancient establishment, they are obliged to support a caravan of 1000, to patrol and keep the road clear; and upon this account are entitled to a tax upon all caravans of merchandise, as well as passengers.

^m The suburbs of ISFAHAN.

ⁿ Lieu enant of the police.

THIS conduct was not less owing to the little love he bore to the PERSIANS, than to his apprehensions of their seditious spirit, which he dreaded more than the armies of the INDIANS, TURKS, or TARTARS. If he could have cut the PERSIANS off at one stroke, as CALIGULA wished in regard to the ROMANS, it is not unreasonable to believe that NADIR would have rejoiced to have done it; had it been possible to re-people the country from any other quarter. Every circumstance of his conduct seemed to prove this; since without altering his measures, which gave such high provocation to rebellion, his chastisements were so extreme, that he was not satisfied without killing or putting out the eyes of all the people, who appeared in arms against him. 1742

During the course of this year, the PORT was agitated with variety of fears, in regard to the armies of PERSIA. The name of NADIR had spread such a terror on the minds of the TURKS six years before, as this period of time had not subdued. The revolt of the ARABIANS, who often blockaded BASSORA, was a further circumstance of alarm, lest these people should join their enemy, for as such they considered NADIR SHAH, though he had not yet declared himself.

The conferences held at ERZEROUM in JANUARY produced no effect. NADIR had ordered his son with a body of fifty thousand men to remain in and about HAMADAN, where he caused a great quantity of artillery to be cast. The TURKS therefore thought it necessary to keep a numerous body of troops in the confines of BAGDAT: but the hopes of accommodation still continuing, the grand signior sent MURIFE EFFENDI into DAGISTAN, where he desired an audience. NADIR declined entering into this business, but promised the TURKISH minister to give him an answer on the plains of MOGAN. After his expedition against the LESGEEs, he explained himself in some measure, by requiring the restitution of all the provinces in ARMENIA, ASIA MINOR, and GEORGIA; which were formerly conquered by TAMERLANE. The TURKS were so alarmed at this declaration, that besides the great army which was assembled near BAGDAT, another was ordered to meet on the banks of the EUPHRATES near ERZEROUM.

Towards

1742. Towards the close of the year, NADIR wrote a letter to the grand signior, couched in general terms, in which he expressed an inclination to cultivate a good understanding with the port. He also wrote to the BASHA of BAGDAT, making proposals of accommodation in terms, as if the two powers had already been engaged in a war. These steps were considered in no other light, than as a design to lull the court into an easy security; and by no means relieved the inquietude of the sultan and his ministers.

The SWEDES having declared war the middle of this year against the RUSSIANS, they made great solicitations at the OTTOMAN court, to engage the TURKS to break with their enemies, in order to create a powerful diversion in favour of SWEDEN. The TURKS, however, saw the danger on the side of PERSIA too well, to be drawn into any such snare; especially as they had so lately accommodated their differences; nor did that most remarkable revolution which happened in RUSSIA at the close of the last year, occasion any change in the measures of the PORT.

What served to support the spirits of the grand signior, was the reduction of the ZU-BEIT and MUDANS, two tribes of ARABIANS, who had revolted. ACHMED BASHA finding that these people had offered to put themselves under the protection of NADIR SHAH, sent SULIMAN, his lieutenant, with a considerable body of forces, who defeated those ARABIANS, and returned home with a rich booty. The TURKS have often occasion to use severity on these people, who are naturally turbulent and inconstant. To keep them poor therefore has generally been the best expedient to keep them humble. The successes which SULIMAN had obtained, were likely to answer a double purpose, by awing these tribes, and by intimidating others.

The TURKS were also relieved from their anxiety, with regard to the designs which the PERSIANS might have formed against BASSORA. NADIR had caused several magazines of provisions to be collected on the frontiers of that district; but in SEPTEMBER he ordered them to be sold.

This

This was a circumstance happy to this city and its neighbourhood in two respects. The war with the ARABIANS had occasioned a scarcity, while ACHMED BASHA not chusing to trust to the professions of his friend NADIR, had amassed great quantities of provisions in those parts, and sent them to BAGDAT. This supply was therefore the more welcome to BASSORA, where the swelling of the EUPHRATES had occasioned an inundation, which produced an epidemical disorder. 1742.

We have lately seen an instance of the force of gain, with regard to the RUSSIANS: the love of it often triumphs over every other consideration. The TURKS reaped some benefit from buying of these provisions; but at the same time they sold great numbers of horses in KOURDISTAN, and other places in the OTTOMAN dominions, to the PERSIANS. A course of uninterrupted campaigns had so far ruined the PERSIAN cavalry, that they could not have continued the war against the TURKS, without these succours: notwithstanding which the avarice of the BASHAS and governors induced them to connive at the practice, inasmuch that this year above sixty thousand horses, besides a great number of camels and mules, were sold by the TURKS and ARABIANS for the use of NADIR's army.

C H A P. XXX.

NADIR's projects to distress the TURKS. Critical circumstance of ACHMED, BASHA of BAGDAT. NADIR leaves DAGISTAN. Intrigues of the OTTOMAN court. NADIR sends ambassadors to BAGDAT. The grand signior declares war against the PERSIANS. NADIR's plan of operations for the campaign.

THE dread of war still perplexed the affairs of the OTTOMAN court. That very conformity of religion, which they had so earnestly solicited, in order to prevent the effusion of blood, now became an object of their terror. The decree which NADIR had published upon his accession to the throne, not seeming to operate effectually on the

minds

1742. minds of the PERSIANS, towards the close of his year he caused it to be proclaimed, that as he had acknowledged the belief of the SUNNIS for the orthodox faith, he required all his subjects to follow his example.

Under the circumstances of fear, this declaration created a suspicion in the TURKISH ministry, that it was an artifice of NADIR SHAH, by imitating the conduct of ASHREFF², to taint the minds of the TURKS with religious prejudices; and the same success which that prince had met, with regard to his security against the TURKS, NADIR might possibly find in his conquest of TURKEY.

ACHMED, BASHA of BAGDAT, was critically situated between the powerful and ambitious NADIR, and the jealousy of the TURKISH court: the former, tho' he professed himself a friend to the BASHA, aspired at the conquest of BAGDAT; whilst the latter was concerned to see this government in some degree dismembered from the OTTOMAN empire. Had BAGDAT been in less skilful hands, it might very probably have fallen a sacrifice to the PERSIANS; and yet many of the TURKS gave this general the odious appellation of NIZAM AL MULUCK, in allusion to the treachery which was imputed to that INDIAN lord, as already related.

In whatever light the conduct of the BASHA might appear to the PORT, it was his parts and generosity which supported him; and not his treason. By these he engaged the friendship of almost every one who had any connexion with him: his officers served him with the utmost fidelity, and considered their own fortune as inseparable from his. But this generosity had likewise its mixture of evil, as by this means his coffers were generally empty; insomuch, that he was often obliged to demand money from the court. He had now exacted six hundred purses³ from the ARABIANS, whom his lieutenant, SULIMAN BASHA, had lately defeated. The JEWS of BAGDAT were also obliged to supply him with two hundred purses. Their chief banker was accused of an illegal commerce with the daughter of a TURKISH EMIR⁴, and would have suffered

death,

² See Vol. III. Chap. XXXVII.

³ 6,000*l*.

⁴ We may observe in how different a light the conduct of the TURKS and PERSIANS appears. Formerly, the latter were

death, if they had not paid this pecuniary mulct, together with seven hundred purses which was due to the banker from the BASHA; but this event, whether the JEW was really guilty or not, ballanced the account. 1742.

The good understanding which was supposed to subsist between NADIR SHAH and the governor of BAGDAT, gave the TURKS no small inquietude. They were in no condition to compel him to give up his government; and out of fear of driving him to any desperate expedient, they dissembled their apprehensions, and worked secretly to accomplish their purpose. Among other steps, the court sent several BASHAS to BAGDAT with troops, under pretence of putting the city in a state of defence against the armies of PERSIA; but this expedient did not take effect. The BASHA saw through the disguise which the court put on, and refused to give any admittance to those troops, representing to the grand signior, that his own forces were sufficient to defend the city and its district.

If ACHMED could have been supposed capable of joining his forces to NADIR SHAH, with a view to conquer TURKEY, such a junction was practicable; but if he had no such design, (as indeed how could a man of his parts commit so gross an absurdity?) the conduct of the OTTOMAN court was very imprudent with regard to her own safety. The circumstances of the BASHA rendered it necessary, that the grand signior should be kept in fear of the PERSIANS, as a decisive blow on either side might oblige him to yield up his government; and it was plain enough that NADIR was preparing for some important enterprize.

Had the TURKS been in circumstances of supporting a war against PERSIA, the perplexed condition in which NADIR found himself in DAGESTAN, rendered the occasion favourable; however, it was some consolation to them, that the rapid course of his arms had met such a check, as might afford them time to collect troops, and also treasure to support them.

were equally strict with regard to their women, but we find under NADIR's reign, all distinctions of MAHOMMEDAN and christian were levelled. See Vol. I page 308. It is true the JEWS are held in much greater abomination than the christians.

1743.

In FEBRUARY this year, NADIR abandoned his enterprize on DAGISTAN; and leaving DERBEND, he marched to the plains of MOGAN, not without apprehensions that the TURKS would make some irruption into his dominions, before he could put himself at the head of his forces.

The grand signior had reason to be persuaded that he never should have a solid peace with NADIR, till he had an opportunity to humble him. The PORT was willing to think, that his successes arose from his intrigues, and the force of his bribes, as well as his valour and military knowledge. Upon this principle, they began to consider him as less dangerous, in a presumption that he would have no advantage over them by treasonable practises. Their eyes being also more open to their interest, they saw the fault which they had committed, in losing many favourable opportunities; and prepared in the most effectual manner to take measures to free themselves from any future alarms.

The vizir ALI BASHA employed all his skill and interest to displace ACHMED, BASHA of BAGDAT: he even carried his resentment so far, as to tamper with OSMAN BASHA, governor of the citadel^{*} of BAGDAT; and to promise him the government of the city and province, if he could by any means remove ACHMED. This proposal not being accepted, the vizir, according to the ordinary course of eastern intrigues, tried ACHMED; and orders were dispatched to him to send the head of OSMAN. Being surprized at so extraordinary a commission, in prejudice to a man against whom he had no cause of complaint, he acquainted OSMAN with the affair. This produced an explanation on both sides: the mutual confidence which from thence arose, established their friendship; and they had soon after the pleasure of seeing their enemy dispossessed of his office. ACHMED was at length confirmed in his governments, both of BAGDAT and BASSORA; the grand signior's decree for this purpose arriving in APRIL. The court had wisely judged this to be the best expedient, to remove the offence given the BASHA, together with their own jealousy.

It

^{*} This officer they call MUKHOZIZ. They have generally governors of citadels distinct from the city and province.

It is probable that NADIR made some attempt to corrupt ACHMED. The vile principles of other men, which he had so often found subservient to his ends, might have induced him to play off his diabolical engines, and try the efficacy of gold. MYRZA ZEKI, a person much in the confidence of NADIR, was sent by him to BAGDAT, in the character of ambassador to the BASHA, who received him with great demonstrations of kindness, and a profusion of magnificence. The ambassador acquainted the BASHA, that his master intended to make the pilgrimage of IMAM ALI, and other places in the neighbourhood of BAGDAT, where the PERSIANS were wont to pay their devotions; and that he would send four KHANS with troops to escort him. The BASHA could by no means relish this information, as it seemed to conceal some secret design foreign to the pretence of religion; however, in return for the honour which had been done him in this embassy, he sent his kinsman MAHOMMED, KRAYA, to attend the ambassador, also with letters and magnificent presents for NADIR: among the latter were ten beautiful horses richly caparisoned. This embassy produced no other effect, than to confirm that esteem which the PERSIAN king had always expressed for the BASHA.

Whilst these negotiations were carried on, the PORT saw the storm ready to burst forth. The eleventh of JUNE the horses tails were hung out of the seraglio at CONSTANFINOPLE as a signal of war. At the same time orders were given to strengthen the OTTOMAN army on the banks of the EUPHRATES near ERZEROU. The PERSIANS had already commenced hostilities; and BASSORA and BAGDAT were invested almost at the same time, the former by a body of thirty thousand PERSIANS, who were joined to some tribes of ARABIANS. They took immediately the fort of GURDILAN on the side of the river opposite to that city: they also ravaged several small towns and villages, and put many of the inhabitants to the sword, taking their women into slavery. The territories of BAGDAT, which were hardly recovered from the calamities they had suffered ten years before, were also pillaged and laid waste.

1743. The TURKS however collected a great army on the side of ERZEUZUM, and another at DIARBEKIR, and determined to make head against the enemy. The PERSIAN troops which were before BASSORA and BAGDAT, were therefore ordered to leave those places and join at MOSUL, and from thence to advance to DIARBEKIR. The plan for the operations of the campaign being formed, NADIR himself at the head of a great body of forces marched to VAN, with a design to hem in the TURKS at ERZEUZUM, and force them to a battle, and then to attack the OTTOMAN dominions in two different parts at the same time, and push his conquest as far as the capital. He had been some time making preparations to take the field; but he did not begin the campaign with so much ardour as in his former war against the TURKS. The repulse he had met in DAGISTAN, had in some degree diminished his reputation; whilst the acquisitions which his troops had made in INDIA, rendered them to all appearance, less desirous of war.

The love of ease, and the cultivation of the arts of peace, will ever be grateful to mankind; but even success in war must tire and distress. The most fortunate campaigns have generally been attended with great labour, and seldom without the loss of many lives to the victors; yet according to the common notions of mankind, to wade through rivers of blood is the glory of military achievements: so much does a vicious self-love counteract the great designs of providence.

C H A P. XXXI.

The TURKS put themselves in a state of defence. The BACTIARIS and BALOUCHES revolt. The TURKS send a pretender into PERSIA, who is joined by a great body of LESGEEES and PERSIANS in SHIRVAN. They are defeated by the PERSIAN forces under the command of NESR ALI MYRZA. Rebellion of TAGHI KHAN in SHIRASS suppressed.

AFTER a campaign of near fourteen years, the ardour of the PERSIAN soldiers began to abate, whilst the TURKS recovered from their apprehensions. MOSUL was put in a condition of defence, and the PERSIANS endeavoured in vain to make themselves masters of it: they lost a great number of men before the town, and were obliged to raise the siege. ALI BASHA, governor of DIARBEEKIR, commanded a numerous army, and had taken all the precautions of an experienced general to stop their progress, had they even succeeded at MOSUL; but that blow failing, prudence forbid their advancing any further, whilst an unconquered country remained behind them. 1743.

NADIR found the TURKS every where prepared for his reception: a number of fortified towns, defended by an enemy become brave by their experience, seemed resolved neither to be won by his intrigues, nor to be subdued by the terror of his name. Superiority of numbers, and the mere dint of valour were therefore his only resources; and as he was sensible that his conduct had rendered the PERSIANS every where ripe for a revolt, the loss of a battle would probably have been his ruin. As the TURKS kept only on the defensive; the issue of the war could not easily be determined by any decisive blow. Under these circumstances NADIR retired to the neighbourhood of KERKOU, where the TURKS suffered him to remain unmolested.

In the mean while near two thousand families of the BACTIARIS, whom the PERSIAN king had transported to the province of KHORASAN,

returned

1743. returned to their own country; where they retired into the mountains; resolving to shake off the PERSIAN yoke. NADIR being apprehensive that others would follow their example, sent a great body of OUSEBEGS to keep them in awe. The BALOUCHS also refused to send any further supplies of men or money; and a body of PERSIAN troops, which had marched against them, was defeated.

A great part of the frontier country to the south, and also the inhabitants of the sea coast, finding NADIR's government insupportable, took up arms at the same time: TAGHI KHAN, the governor of FARSISTAN, followed their example. This KHAN was also a BEGLERBEG, and had been much esteemed by NADIR: he was permitted to wear the heron's feather on the left side, and to ride upon an elephant; which was not granted but to two or three persons in the whole empire. The several expeditions which this KHAN had made against the MASCATS, having been attended with very ill fortune, his reputation with the king was much declined. KHALBELLI KHAN, a relation of the SHAH, and an officer under TAGHI KHAN, was become so great an object of jealousy to NADIR, that he gave orders to TAGHI KHAN to send him his head; but the BEGLERBEG made use of his interest with his master, and saved KHALBELLI. Soon after TAGHI KHAN himself was suspected of treason; and under pretence of esteem and great confidence, NADIR charged his relation to send the KHAN prisoner to the camp. The mutual regard which subsisted between these two lords, naturally produced an explanation; and they both saw that their security depended only on their abilities to oppose the tyrant, whom late disappointments had rendered extremely cruel.

Under these circumstances, they previously concerted their measures, and resolved to rebel. To facilitate this design, it was agreed that TAGHI KHAN should set out for the camp, as if he meant to give an account of himself to the SHAH; and that KHALBELLI should in a day or two send after him, upon the pretext that a rebellion was breaking out, and therefore his presence became absolutely necessary at SHIRASS. Accordingly the BEGLERBEG returned, and under pretence that the neighbouring people had taken up arms against the king, he collected a

body of troops to the number of seven thousand, and seized all the naval force on the PERSIAN gulf. 1743.

Whilst these storms were gathering in the south, the TURKS thought the opportunity very favourable to foment a rebellion in the north. The most proper instruments for their purpose were the LESGEEES. The resentment of these people for the attempts against them the preceding year, made them wish for some favourable opportunity of distressing the PERSIANS. The TURKISH ministry were sensible that NADIR's government was already become odious; and that possibly any pretender they might set up under the notion of being of the royal blood of the SEFFIE family, might make a diversion in their favour. For this purpose therefore they engaged a certain PERSIAN named SAUN, who pretended to be the younger son of SHAH HUSSEIN. The TURKS also insinuated, that SEFFIE MYRZA, the elder son, was yet alive under their protection. SAUN had made his appearance in PERSIA some years before, in the habit of a DERSH, privately insinuating that he affected that garb to conceal his birth: he was then taken by IBRAHIM KHAN, NADIR's brother, who in contempt cut off the tip of his nose, and set him at liberty. This man was from that time called BINNIE BURIDE, or snip-nose. The inhabitants of SHAMAKIE now received him with great demonstrations of respect, and he soon collected an army to the number of sixteen thousand men, of which the greatest part were LESGEEES. These brave mountaineers had made incursions in the neighbourhood of DERBEND from the time of NADIR's leaving that city; and kept the garrison in perpetual alarms. Taking the advantage of the night, they laid a quantity of gunpowder in the broken parts of the walls, and setting fire to it, did great mischief, tho' they could not accomplish the taking of the place: this artifice was repeated several times. They often came in large bodies, in the night, and letting fly clouds of arrows at the troops who guarded the walls, immediately changed their situation; so that the PERSIANS were at a loss how to aim their artillery. All the arts of persuasion, as well as violence had been used to bring these TARTARS to a submission. The garrison made re-

peated

* This word is also pronounced, SAAM.

1743. peated sallies, and had frequent skirmishes with them; both sides exercising cruelties unwarrantable by the law of arms². Those who surrendered themselves without fighting, and promised under an oath not to bear arms against the SHAH, were dismissed by the PERSIANS. A decree was also sent amongst the LESGEEs, that whoever would trade with PERSIA, should be free of all duties, and that passports should be granted for the safety of their persons; but this had little or no effect.

The continuation of these hostilities kept DEERBEND almost in as great distress as when NADIR left it. All the males who were above sixteen, were obliged to bear arms, and the young women above fourteen, were given as wives to the new recruits, by an arbitrary act of the governor; whilst the scarcity was so great, that numbers died for want.

1744. The beginning of this year the pretender SAUN marched into SHIRVAN, at the head of an army mostly composed of LESGEEs. They were pillaging at large, when a body of two thousand PERSIANS in NADIR's interest, endeavoured to stop their progress, but were intirely routed. The whole province being thus threatened with desolation, NADIR sent his son NESR ALI MYRZA, at the head of twenty five thousand men. The LESGEEs, in conjunction with great numbers of people of the province, made an obstinate resistance; but after much bloodshed they were defeated near the conflux of the KURA and ARAS. It was here NADIR was chosen king; and on the same spot, where the people had given such proof of their weakness and corruption, was now erected a monument of their misery and distress. NADIR caused a pyramid of human heads to be built in token of his victory, and to deter the few remaining inhabitants from any future rebellion.

SAUN fled with seventy men only, but was soon taken. The SHAH ordered his son to cut out one of the eyes of this rebel, and that he should be then sent to the OTTOMAN court, with this message; "That NADIR disdained to take the life of so despicable a wretch, though

² It was not uncommon for the PERSIANS to cut off the legs of the LESGEEs, or to cut out their eyes, with this cruel taunt, that they might then make the best of their way home.

³ See Vol. I. page 388.

"the grand signior had espoused his cause, as a descendant of the family
"of the SEFFIES."

744

The consequence of this rebellion was the ruin of almost the whole province of SHIRVAN. In the mean while, the revolt of TAGHI KHAN became a very serious affair; he was one of the last of the antient PERSIAN nobility, and tho' he had been unfortunate in his naval war against the ARABS, he had the reputation of an able statesman, and a gallant officer; qualities which rendered him so much the greater object of jealousy. NADIR detached a body of eighteen thousand men to SHIRASS, under some of his most experienced generals. This was a force so much superior to that of TAGHI KHAN, that being in no capacity to meet them in the field, he shut himself up in the city.

We have already seen, to what deplorable circumstances the city of SHIRASS, the capital of FARSISTAN, was reduced in 1724; and again in 1729: it was now once more doomed to be a scene of distress and slaughter. TAGHI KHAN defended the city for some weeks, but at length it was taken by storm: the inhabitants were punished with the utmost severity; and a great part of their effects were pillaged, under the pretence of sequestration, for the use of the king. Most of those who had been in arms were put to the sword, or deprived of sight. TAGHI KHAN, attended by a party of his friends, fled in the disguise of shepherds, but were soon discovered by the treasury of their own servants. He was brought to ISFAHAN with his favourite wife, and about forty of his nearest relations and dependents.

This lady was violated before her husband's face by a common soldier, which was the highest indignity that could be offered to this nobleman, and contrary to NADIR's usual regard to women. His relations and friends were put to death; and himself, after being deprived of one of his eyes, was castrated. Strict orders were given, that all possible care should be taken, that the operation should not affect his life. It was said, that

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NADIR

It was remarkable, that SAUN was thus suffered to escape for the second time. He was a rank predestinarian, and concluded that he was yet reserved for some extraordinary event.
The twenty-five thousand men, mentioned in Vol. I. page 24. part of them I imagine were sent against the other rebels in that neighbourhood.

1744. NADIR had made an oath^b never to put TAGHI KHAN to death, and was therefore wanton in his cruelty, without touching the life of this lord. It is probable, that the SHAH thought him an honest man, and a more able general, than many belonging to his army, and as he had given him his life, expected from him the greater marks of fidelity. Upon what other principle can we reconcile NADIR's conduct, who, after thus gratifying his resentment, gave this KHAN the government of CABUL? What particular circumstances might induce him to take so extraordinary a resolution, my authorities do not mention it seems to be an effect of that caprice and whim, which we find upon many occasions, as if he affected to establish a rule of conduct, contrary to the fundamental principles which common experience has taught mankind.

CHAP. XXXII.

Rebellion of ASTRABAD ENGLISH merchants plundered NADIR returns from TURKEY into PERSIA. Report concerning his abdication Distress of PERSIA The TURKS make great preparations for war. NADIR marches into the TURKISH dominions. Battle fought near ERIVAN The TURKS defeated.

THE flames of civil war now spread themselves like a torrent In JANUARY this year, the KHAJARS of ASTRABAD also threw off the yoke, and chose MAHOMMED HASSAN^d as their leader. After joining a body of TURKUMAN TARTARS their neighbours, they took the capital of

^b It seems as if oaths were deemed very sacred things among the MAHOMMEDANS and that the vilest of men were not vile enough to disregard their engagements, to which they call the Almighty to witness

^c Mr OTTER mentions, that TAGHI KHAN no sooner arrived at CABUL, than he rebelled, but I never heard that CABUL did rebel till after the death of NADIR SHAH, or just before when THAMARAS KHAN commanded the PERSIAN forces on the INDIAN side It is true, that many events have happened, which for want of correspondence, and from the wild disorders of a country rent with civil wars, have never reached EUROPE I have already observed, that for my own part I adopt only what I have particular reason to believe is true, and those events which appear but imperfectly related with regard to circumstances, the reader will ascribe to the manner in which they have been handed to us

^d The son of FATEY ALI KHAN, mentioned

of the province, seized the SHAH's treasure, and plundered a valuable caravan belonging to the BRITISH RUSSIA company, who were at this time attempting to open a new trade over the CASPIAN sea to MESCHED, now considered as the capital of the empire.

There cannot be a greater demonstration of the fatal effects of a tyrannical government, than the extreme rashness of the inhabitants of this province. MAHOMMED HASSAN had held a correspondence with SAUN, and acknowledged him as sovereign. He proposed, that whilst SAUN was conquering on the western coast, he would reduce the southern parts bordering on the CASPIAN sea. It was with difficulty he raised a little army of three thousand men; and SAUN, tho' he headed sixteen thousand, was not able to support himself against the numerous forces of NADIR; yet the temptation of plundering the treasure and caravan, drew the infatuated followers of HASSAN into destruction. The minute circumstances of this rebellion are related in my first volume*. I have therefore only to add, that this army of KHAJARS and TURKUMANS were in the following month defeated by fifteen hundred of the SHAH's troops from KHORASAN; and by their loss in battle, executions, and sequestrations, the whole province was ruined. From this time NADIR took the resolution of sending a body of forces, and to build a fort on the eastern coast of the CASPIAN, with a view to awe the TURKUMANS; but the want of water in their desert prevented the execution.

Whether reasons of policy, or any other motive prevailed, NADIR certainly gave frequent proof of his regard to equity; and there is a justice due to the worst of men. That which was shewn on this occasion to the BRITISH merchants, ought to be remembered; for he caused the whole amount of their loss to be paid to their factors.

The fortune of this eastern spoiler seemed now to decline very fast: and the general defection of the PERSIANS rendered the prospect of his future reign very gloomy. The flames of rebellion, which thus broke out in so many different quarters, reduced him for the present to the necessity of abandoning his designs against the TURKS; and in the month of MARCH this year, he returned into the plains of HAMADAN.

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1744.

It is not said whether NADIR had any children by the aunt of SHAH TÄHMAS; but his unfortunate son RIZA KOULI MYRZA, to whom a sister of that prince had been given in marriage, had a son by her, whose name was SHAHROKH, now about ten years of age. It was suggested that NADIR designed to abdicate the regal power in favour of SHAHROKH, as being lineally descended on the mother's side from the SEFFIE family, and that himself would retire to KÄLAT to end his days in repose. This opinion seemed to arise rather from the confused state of affairs, than from the probability that NADIR really meant to abdicate the crown, or that he could consistently with his own safety give up the command of his army. Nor was it probable that SHAHROKH, who was born in such distracted times, whose father had been deprived of sight for rebellion against his own parent, and whose mother had poisoned herself, to avoid the cruel death of several of her relations, who were ripped up; it is not, I say, probable, that such a person, however entitled by birth, should ever arrive at a quiet possession of the regal dignity.

Under such distraction of the state, and the jealousy of the usurper, to name a successor would have been to dethrone himself in his own apprehension. Every thoughtful man foresaw what confusion must necessarily follow the death of NADIR, although this event was so much desired by the people. It was most natural to imagine, that as NADIR had put out the eyes of his eldest son RIZA KOULI MYRZA, the second son NEZR ALI MYRZA, should be consider'd as the presumptive heir of the PERSIAN diadem. This prince however gave no marks of a spirit equal to so dangerous a charge. ALI KOULI KHAN, the son of IBRAHIM KHAN^a, was therefore considered as the person most probable to succeed. This opinion was favoured by his being made governor of KHORASAN, and by a certain popularity of conduct, not such as gave umbrage at this time, but tending to make impressions of his generosity.

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^a I have often discoursed on the subject with the PERSIAN jesuits in CHILAN, who foretold a great part of the calamities, which have since happened, as a natural consequence of that desperate state to which PERSIA was reduced.

^b IBRAHIM KHAN, NADIR's eldest brother, the same person who was killed by the ENGLISH. It was said that NADIR did declare ALI KOULI KHAN his successor, but the authority is the more to be doubted, as the thing appears inconsistent, while NEZR ALI MYRZA had so great a share in the command of the army.

I have related in what misery ¹ PERSIA was involved by NADIR's avarice, joined to a restless spirit of conquest, and a fear of disbanding his army. In the most civilized countries we often find, that after a long series of war peace is attended with many evil effects, especially from the lawless conduct of those who want skill, industry, or honesty to get their bread. But in a country so lost to a sense of moral duties, and so impatient under the yoke of an usurper, NADIR's soldiers would have been the first to rebel, as soon as they should be discharged. They already cursed him, not in their hearts only, but with their tongues; declaring, that he had no sense of humanity, and therefore his talents as a soldier could never render him worthy to reign over them: besides, the native PERSIANS in his army were much inferior to the number of the TARTARS, and consequently the former consider'd themselves as acting under the influence of men whom they despised. The people in general, grown desperate by seeing their substance torn from them, were kept from rebellion no longer than they were awed by a military force. Yet they were reduced to so hard a dilemma, as to tremble at the prospect of a change.

Such was the situation of PERSIA in the middle of this year, when nothing could give a stronger proof how much mankind are scourges to themselves in consequence of their own villainy, than that a people who had been regardless of their lawful king, now groaned under the tyranny of an usurper who trod on their necks with such boundless cruelty. Nor was it less amazing how a country almost deserted, could find provisions to supply an army.

It is easy to imagine the satisfaction which the PORT received at the rebellions in PERSIA: this made a discovery of the real weakness of their enemy. They were still alarmed on account of ACHMED, BASHA: the reluctance he had shewn to act against the PERSIANS, by which he designed to maintain himself the better in his government, was construed by his enemies at court as a desertion of his master's cause; and consequently that he meant at least to erect an independent sovereignty.

The

1744: The TURKS, harrassed with war for so many years, grew clamorous, and a change in the ministry was threatened. Their fears perpetually represented NADIR SHAH as destroying their armies, and laying waste their country, without a prospect of peace. The court endeavoured by all possible means to soothe the people: it was even declared that a peace was concluded with PERSIA, by the interposition of ACHMED BASHA. The design of this was to remove the suspicions which were entertained of this BASHA, and at the same time to give the people hopes of repose. The court however had experienced such caprice, inconstancy, and want of faith in NADIR, that they could make no dependance on any treaty with him, but such as was made sword in hand. Many projects were formed to bring vast armies into the field: it was even proposed to embark some bodies of the CRIM TARTARS on the BLACK SEA, and land them at TREBISONDE; and to bring troops from EGYPT, and land them at ALEXANDRETTA, to endeavour by this means to cover their dominions in the antient MESOPOTAMIA. In short, all possible expedients were tried to set bounds to so dangerous a neighbour, whose fortune had prevailed over the numerous rebellions raised against him.

In JULY NADIR marched back again into the TURKISH dominions, seemingly with a view to support his troops in the enemy's country, which he could no longer do in his own. All the frontier of the TURKISH dominions had been so long a prey to great armies, that they were become waste. In the mean while, the taxes drawn from his people being insufficient for the current service, he was obliged to have recourse to his INDIAN treasure, but in such small proportions, as afforded very little relief to the people.

NADIR remained some time between CASBIN and HAMADAN, with an army of thirty thousand men; with these he awed his subjects, particularly the inhabitants of the coast of the CASPIAN, who were in general ripe for a revolt. In this situation he could also support a correspondence with his armies on the side of INDIA, and with that body of forces which he had left near KERKOU. In the mean time he

expected

expected to be joined by his forces which had been sent to the south against SHIRASS, and the neighbouring country. 1744.

Towards the close of this year, an action happened between the PERSIANS and TURKS near CARS; but as it was by no means decisive, it served for little more than to support the spirit of animosity, and prevent that peace which the TURKISH ministry so anxiously sought: at least we do not find that the PERSIANS were driven out of the TURKISH dominions, nor that CARS was taken, agreeable to the common reports of that time. The TURKS however maintained their ground with such resolution, as rendered all the attempts of the enemy abortive.

The PERSIAN army passed the winter near their own frontiers. NADIR seemed to think it necessary to keep himself in readiness against the intestine commotions of his own country, and at the same time to watch the motions of the TURKS, who were resolved to make their greatest efforts the next campaign.

Near the end of this year, ACHMED KHAN, a PERSIAN general, fled to CONSTANTINOPLE from the tyranny of his master. The TURKS received him with diffidence, lest his pretended flight should be one of those stratagems which their artful enemy NADIR had so often played against them. The KHAN however gave them such convincing proofs of the real cause of his abandoning his late master, that he was received into the confidence of the TURKISH ministers. He flattered them into a belief, that if they would exert themselves, and send a large army into the field, the PERSIANS, being once intimidated, would desert in whole squadrons. This opinion was founded on his knowledge of the great disaffection of many of the officers and soldiers in the PERSIAN army.

The LESGEES, remembering their defeat in SHIRVAN the beginning of last year, were anxious to see their haughty enemy humbled to the dust. For this purpose they sent two ambassadors to CONSTANTINOPLE, offering to assist the TURKS with a body of men, in consideration of a certain sum of money. They represented at the same time, how bravely they had defended their liberty against the usurper NADIR, and that they still per-

1744. listcd in their resolution of defending themselves. It had not been the custom of the LESGEEs for some ages to leave their mountains to engage in the service of any foreign prince, nor have they often marched farther than SHIRVAN and GEORGIA to fight their own battles; but their present circumstances induced them to make this offer, to engage in the TURKISH service, as the SWISS do in that of FRANCE. The PORT received these embassadors with great marks of distinction, and gave them very fair promises; but we do not find that they were so satisfactory to the crafty LESGEEs, as to engage them to send any succours to join the OTTOMAN army: indeed it was not without the utmost difficulty the grand signior could raise money to pay his national troops.

1745. This year began with preparations for the most powerful army which had yet appeared in the field against the PERSIANS, towards which SERVIA, BOSNIA, and ROMANIA, all contributed their quotas. This numerous army was to be assembled at CARS, in order to open the campaign by the first of APRIL. The TURKS seemed thus determined to make the most vigorous efforts, and free themselves from the dread of their enemy; which could not be done by keeping within their walls. This task was the more difficult, as a continued series of ill fortune had intimidated the OTTOMAN forces; neither were the EUROPEAN troops in the least disposed to pass over into ASIA, as it had generally proved their grave.

In the mean while, the suppression of the rebellions of SHIRVAN, SHIRAZ, and ASTRABAD, had humbled the PERSIANS: though, groaning under a tyrannical government, they were in no condition to withhold their obedience. NADIR being satisfied that he had nothing to fear from his own people for the present, left his son NESR ALI MYRZA with a body of thirty thousand men on the frontiers of PERSIA, and marched his army the beginning of this year into GEORGIA, where he found it most easy to support them, without any danger of molestation. This step gave the TURKS some satisfaction, as it enabled them to form their army;

and

and, afforded, a temporary relief to those towns, against which they apprehended the PERSIAN king would turn his arms, 1745.

If the TURKS were ambitious of striking a decisive blow, NADIR also behaved as if he meant to bring the war to an issue at one battle; for he took no measures to obstruct the junction of the OTTOMAN forces. About the middle of MAY he sent orders to his son to advance towards ERIVAN, and near the end of JULY both the PERSIAN armies arrived in the neighbourhood of that city.

Two years thus passed in rumours of war, and perpetual apprehensions of battles, without any blow being struck worthy of historical record: at length the fatal day arrived. The TURKS, having had so long a time to compleat their army, their forces were more numerous than in any of the former campaigns against the PERSIANS: the SERASKIER, MAHOMMED BASHA, was at the head of a hundred thousand men. As soon as he heard of the motions of the PERSIANS, he left ERZEROU, and advanced to CARS, where he joined ABDALLAH KOUPROLI: the army under this BASHA consisted of thirty thousand men. The junction of these forces, supported by a numerous train of artillery, flattered the TURKS into a belief, that it was now their turn to triumph over an enemy who had been so long an object of their terror. MAHOMMED BASHA directed his course towards ERIVAN, and during his march, he drove several parties, consisting of four or five thousand PERSIANS, from their entrenchments and advanced posts.

NADIR SHAH was encamped with fifty thousand men about ten leagues from ERIVAN, and his son, NEZR ALI MYRZA, with thirty thousand, was advanced near the same distance. The van guard of the latter being met by the TURKS, a skirmish ensued, and the PERSIANS immediately retreated to join the main army commanded by the SHAH himself. Upon this, NADIR began to move, and sent a body of his forces to attack the TURKS in the rear, which was executed according to his intention. Being arrived within two leagues of the enemy's camp, he pitched his tents on a rising ground, nearest that body of the TURKS commanded by ABDALLAH BASHA. The main body of the OTTOMAN army was encamped

1745. advantageously, and defended by entrenchments, and a numerous artillery.

MAHOMMED BASHA had made some marches to meet the king of PERSIA, with design to give him battle. The third of AUGUST he detached a large body of cavalry, supported by a train of artillery; these troops being formed into order of battle, advanced upon the PERSIANS, whilst the BASHA kept his whole army in readiness to succour them. NADIR gave orders for a detachment of his troops, inferior in number to that of the TURKS, to meet them; and after the first discharge of their musquetry, to attack them with their sabres. The battle lasted from morning till noon with equal fortune, when the SHAH advanced in person at the head of a strong reinforcement, and brought on a general engagement. The TURKS disputed the victory with great obstinacy, but in the evening they retired to their camp in confusion. They lost above twenty thousand men, great part of them infantry, who were killed in the field of battle, besides a considerable number of prisoners. The PERSIANS pursued them as far as their trenches, and then returned to their own camp a little after sun-set.

A loss of such importance could not but dishearten the TURKS, who now seemed inclined to remain within their lines. The SHAH, taking advantage of the terror into which he had thrown the enemy, cut off their communication with CARS; by which means they were deprived of a support. Necessity therefore compelled them to leave their trenches a second time, not so much with design to give battle, as to make a desperate retreat. The eighth of AUGUST they advanced with a large train of artillery, and cannonaded the enemy with great fury. The PERSIANS supported the shock, and by the help of their own cannon drove them back into their trenches. The TURKS being now more closely blockaded in their camp; the ninth of AUGUST, as soon as night came on, they abandoned their entrenchments, and leaving their artillery and baggage, retreated towards CARS.

NADIR no sooner perceived their motions than he ordered a body of his men to follow them. The PERSIANS flung them into disorder, and made

made great havock : the next day as they followed the TURKS, five leagues on the other side the river ARPATSCHAI, a forced engagement ensued, in which the SERASKIER, MAHOMMED BASHA, was slain. The PERSIANS then returned in triumph to their camp with five thousand prisoners, and the head of the SERASKIER. The TURKS acknowledged their loss upon the whole to be twenty-eight thousand men, and three BASHAS, besides the commander in chief; among these was ABDALLAH KOUPROLI, the son of the SERASKIER KOUPROLI, who was killed in an engagement with the victorious NADIR nine years before. 1745.

It is remarkable, that NADIR proceeded in this action with the utmost caution, not suffering any of his troops to enter the TURKISH camp after the enemy had deserted it, till he was certain that this was no stratagem to engage his men to plunder, and expose them to be attacked at a disadvantage. The loss of the PERSIANS on the occasion of this victory was about eight thousand men, and some of their generals: NADIR himself had two horses killed under him in the first battle.

The remains of the TURKISH army arrived at CARS without baggage, artillery or ammunition, and without any order, discipline, or commanders of any note, so that the hopes of the whole campaign were frustrated; and their enemies remained masters of the field. However, they had less to fear from this event than from their former misfortunes in the PERSIAN war, since they had the utmost reason to hope, that the farther NADIR marched into their country, the more he would be distressed by the rebellions which were ready to burst forth on every side of his PERSIAN dominions. The TURKISH ministry therefore still persisted in supporting the war; and in DECEMBER following the PORT published a manifesto setting forth the reasons of this resolution, in order to convince the people of the necessity of this measure, till NADIR SHAH should accept proposals of peace less dangerous and dishonourable to the OTTOMAN empire than any he had offered. To confirm their resolution, the grand vizir sent orders that all the troops in NATOLIA should hold themselves in readiness to march, in order to join the army at CARS.

C H A P. XXXIII.

NADIR *makes a peace with the TURKS. The RUSSIANS send an ambassador to NADIR. Revolt of the GEORGIANS. NADIR's barbarities at ISFAHAN and KHERMAN. Revolt of THAMARAS KHAN, and ALI KOULI KHAN.*

1745. **N**ADIR saw too well the danger impending from intestine commotions in PERSIA, to entertain any thoughts of pursuing his victories against the TURKS: he rather chose to enter into as speedy an accommodation with them as possible. For this purpose he sent ALI BEG, with a retinue of sixty persons, as ambassador to the grand signior. The 17th of JANUARY this minister was conducted with the ordinary ceremonies to an audience of the OTTOMAN emperor, who received him with great marks of respect. The vizir at the same time informed him, that he might be assured, notwithstanding the misfortunes they had met with in the war with PERSIA, unless the SHAH would make propositions more consistent with the honour of the grand signior, it would be impossible to agree to a peace. As this ambassador had no full powers to negotiate, but was chiefly charged with a letter expressing the good intentions of his master: the grand signior replied, that he was sincerely disposed to conclude a peace, as soon as the SHAH would agree to such terms as might render it solid and lasting, and that in conformity to the SHAH's proposals of friendship, he would immediately order plenipotentiaries to the frontiers of PERSIA: that these, together with ALI BASHA the SERASKIER, who commanded at CARS, might agree with the SHAH on a place most convenient to open the conferences. Accordingly, towards the close of
1746. FEBRUARY, three ministers were dispatched a few days before the departure of the PERSIAN ambassador from CONSTANTINOPLE. In order that these conferences should produce their effect, directions were given to hasten the preparations for the next campaign, in case NADIR should, according to his ordinary practice, amuse the TURKS with the notions of

an accommodation, whilst he meant only to gain time for pursuing the war with the more vigour when it better suited his convenience. 1746.

It is very evident that he had no desire of peace with the *TURKS*, any otherwise than as his own preservation rendered it necessary. In the beginning of the last campaign he had declared in very familiar terms, what mighty presents he would make his soldiers; after he had set up his standard on the ramparts of *CONSTANTINOPLE*; a project not altogether improbable, could he have found the art of sacrificing his avarice to his ambition, and by that means deliver his people from the miseries under which they groaned.

It was remarkable in all the wars which *NADIR* waged against the *OTTOMAN* empire, that the *EUROPEAN TURKS* no sooner entered *ASIA*, than they became enervated: Besides, the cloathing of the *TURKS* being so much longer than that of the *PERSIANS*, the former were under a very great disadvantage in battle^k; and yet, such is the reverence of mankind for the practice of their forefathers, or their jealous fears of changing for the worst, that we find the *TURKS* still adhere to the same military dress. In *EUROPE*, where superstition does not so much abound, or at least is differently modified, the custom of loading soldiers with unnecessary cloathing is changed^l, in almost every country distinguished for the knowledge of military affairs. To all appearance *NADIR* would have continued superior to the *TURKS*, unless he had pushed his fortune too far, as generally is the case with princes of his genius; but Providence sets the bounds, which they have not the prudence to fix.

After the battle of *ERIVAN*, *NADIR* marched to *HAMADAN*, to wait the arrival of the *TURKISH* ministers, who were sent to prepare the way for *MUSTAPHA EFFENDI*, the grand signior's ambassador. In order to prevent the evasive conduct which *NADIR* had ordinarily practised towards the *TURKS*, this ambassador was ordered to return to *CONSTANTINOPLE* before the year expired. The *POT*, sensible in what circumstances the *SHAH* was, had just grounds to believe that the happy period was at length

^k The *TURKS* I am told have a method of tuck'ing up their garments, but still they are not so much disengaged as the *PERSIANS*.

^l See Vol. II. page 209.

1746. length arrived, in which they might agree to fix the boundaries of their respective dominions; and prevent that distress and effusion of blood, in which the ambition of the PERSIAN king had involved the OTTOMAN empire.

ALI BEG, the ambassador of NADIR SHAH, set out towards the end of MARCH, a few days after MUSTAPHA EFFENDI. He left the TURKISH court, with a view to make report to his master of the favourable sentiments of the grand signior, with regard to their mutual tranquillity. In the mean while, fresh reinforcements were sent to CARS and ERZEROUN; in order to give the greater weight to their negotiations. The TURKS seemed resolved to suffer the inconvenience of supporting a very numerous army, rather than afford occasion to NADIR for making any exorbitant demands on them. The expence of maintaining these forces on the frontiers of their ASIATIC dominions was very great, the country being every where laid waste; yet this step seemed to be absolutely necessary, whilst NADIR was at the head of so formidable an army.

The greatest part of this year passed in negotiations, till at length MUSTAPHA EFFENDI brought this important affair to a happy issue; and a peace was concluded, upon the foundation of that of AMURATH IV. except that the PERSIANS were to enjoy the liberty of making the pilgrimage of MECCA, without acknowledging the TURKISH jurisdiction; and to have also a liberty to establish a PERSIAN priest at the town of MESCHED ALI, near BAGDAT. The titles which NADIR assumed upon this occasion were, "The most exalted and most generous prince; brilliant as the moon, and resplendent as the sun. The jewel of the world; the center of the beauty of musfulmen, and of the true faith of MAHOMMED. The sovereign, whose troops are equal in number to the stars, and who sits on the throne of XERXES."

The grand signior, not to be out-done in pomp of words, arrogated the titles of "The sovereign who is the shadow of God; the mirror of justice; the asylum of the true believers; the king of kings, whose troops are equal in number to the stars; the true successor of the Caliphs;

“ liph; the servant of the two sacred and noble cities^m; the lord of
 “ the two countries, and of the two seasⁿ; sultan, son of a sultan; the
 “ most powerful, the most formidable, most magnificent, most generous
 “ emperor *SULTAN MAHOMMED the conqueror, son of MUSTAPHA the*
 “ conqueror^o.”

The SERASKIER, ALI BASHA, who commanded on the frontier of PERSIA, was ordered to return into EUROPE, to take possession of his government of BOSNIA. The grand signior's court was in great joy on account of this peace; especially as NADIR declared himself an adherent to the doctrine of HANNIFA, in opposition to those expounders of the MAHOMMEDAN law, whose opinion the PERSIANS had generally adopted. The renovation of their treaty with the courts of ST. PETERSBURG and VIENNA, added also to the satisfaction, and induced them to believe it would be permanent. The next great object of their attention, was the preparation of a splendid embassy to ISFAHAN, near which city NADIR was encamped with his forces. In the mean while, the PERSIAN monarch appointed MUSTAPHA KHAN his ambassador to the grand signior.

We have already observed that the RUSSIAN court had not yet sent any formal embassy to NADIR, since his accession to the throne of PERSIA: it was therefore thought high time to perform this ceremonial, and obviate the ill effects which a seeming disregard might produce, now that NADIR had no foreign enemy against whom to employ his forces. The impressions which the RUSSIANS as well as the TURKS had conceived, prevented in a great measure the belief that the fate of this mighty conqueror was so near at hand. KNEZ GALITZEN was accordingly appointed ambassador on the part of her present imperial majesty of RUSSIA^p.

NADIR having left his northern dominions, sent into GEORGIA to demand all the sons of their nobility to attend his camp. A step of this nature

^m Mecca and Medina.

ⁿ Generally understood the CASPIAN and BLACK SEAS

^o This treaty was not signed till the 11th of JANUARY 1747.

^p See account of this

embassy, Vol. I., Chapters LIV. LV. LVI. and LVIII.

1746. nature could not but give these brave people great offence, especially as it seemed to indicate his jealousy of them, and that he meant to hold their sons as hostages, with a view to retain the people in their obedience. The GEORGIANS resolved to take up arms rather than submit; and to this they were the more induced, by the reports that the flames of rebellion had reached the eastern parts of PERSIA. Thus encouraged, they repulsed a body of PERSIAN troops, which were sent into their country to levy taxes, and keep them in awe.

Whilst NADIR was in the neighbourhood of ISFAHAN, he received intelligence that a rebellion was breaking out in the borders of KHORASAN. This province, which had received such distinguished marks of his favour, was reduced to the same degree of misery as the other parts of the empire¹: but the ABDOLLEES of HERAT were the most impatient of the yoke. Under these circumstances, what could be expected from the cruel avaricious NADIR? From an incessant fatigue and labour of mind, attended with some infirmities of body, he had contracted a disposition, which in the generality of mankind is called by the name of peevishness, but in him was a diabolical fierceness, with a total insensibility of human sufferings. His avidity, as common to sickly minds, increased with his years; and in order to indulge it, he seemed resolved to perform some master-stroke of cruelty. During his stay at ISFAHAN, he committed barbarities beyond any of the former years of his reign. This ancient city, long esteemed the paradise of the PERSIAN monarchy, had in common with all PERSIA felt the fatal consequences of invasions and civil wars. The tyranny of NADIR had made a great progress in that ruin, which he now seemed determined to complete. He made the heaviest exactions on the city and the adjacent country, and put to death numbers of the inhabitants: among these were several INDIAN and ARMENIAN merchants, whom he caused to be burnt alive. It was pretended that they had bought some horse caparisons belonging to SHAH HUSSEIN, from which they had cut off the pearls, without accounting with him for their full value. However true this might be, it could not be deemed a sufficient reason for such barbarities. It is probable, that he suspected:

the

the ARMENIANS held a correspondence with the rebel GEORGIANS; and that the INDIANS in their commerce with KANDAHAR, might take occasion to mention the state of affairs in the northern and western parts of the empire. 1746.

In JANUARY 1747 he left ISFAHAN, and marched with his forces to KHERMAN. Here his cruelties were not inferior to those he had exercised at ISFAHAN, being restrained by no ties of justice, nor the tears of the miserable; by no regards of hospitality, nor even the protection due to strangers: among other outrages, he caused the interpreter of the DUTCH factors to be beaten with sticks, after the PERSIAN manner, till he expired; pretending, that a PERSIAN of distinction had deposited in his hands a large sum of money. 1747.

From KHERMAN he proceeded to MESCHED, where he continued to practise the greatest barbarities, few persons of any note, whether military men or merchants, PERSIANS or ARMENIANS, escaped without the loss of one or both their eyes. He then directed his course to KALAT, the grand repository of his treasure. It was imagined, that he intended to put things in readiness for his reception in that strong place, after the execution of his projects.

Upon the breaking out of the rebellion in the province of HERAT, he had given orders to his nephew ALI KOULI KHAN, then at MESCHED, to march against the ABDOLLEES with a large body of forces, strictly enjoining him, that whatever the exigencies of affairs might be, not to unite his troops with those of TAMARAS KHAN. The latter commanded in the eastern frontiers, and was reputed a man of great experience and knowledge of war: he also had the same injunction with regard to ALI KOULI KHAN; however, they entered into a correspondence, which produced a mutual regard, and terminated in the junction of their forces.

NADIR was thus extremely alarmed, it seemed as if he was betrayed on every side, and most of all by his own nephew. Things being thus circumstanced, he wrote to ALI KOULI KHAN, to send TAMARAS KHAN

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to

* It is said that this KHAN had formed a regiment of infantry after the EUROPEAN manner

1747. to him as a prisoner; and apprehensive that his nephew might not obey those commands, soon after he sent orders to TAMARAS KHAN, to arrest his nephew, and send him to his camp. Neither of these orders were obeyed; on the contrary, a mutual communication of them produced a firmer union, and more vigorous measures for their security.

When NADIR found that neither of these generals were obedient, and that the junction of their forces rendered them at least as formidable as the royal army, he tried a further expedient to separate them, which was to send a message to his nephew, conceived in very gentle terms, desiring him to come to his camp. ALI KOULI KHAN excused himself, alledging that the rebellion was not suppressed, and consequently his absence would be attended with dangerous consequences. In the mean while TAMARAS KHAN had the same invitation, and pleaded want of health.

when this work was done, he would load them with money and great honours; proposing, after he had erected a huge pyramid of PERSIAN heads, to retire and end his days at KÆLAT. 1747.

A GEORGIAN slave in NADIR's tent accidentally over-heard some part of the conference, in which this bloody plot was resolved on. He immediately found means to discover the secret to the KURTCHI BASHI, who when night approached sent for several of the principal PERSIAN officers of the army, and communicated this extraordinary piece of intelligence. They immediately dispatched scouts to observe the motions of the TARTARS, many of whom were reported to be whetting their sabres, as if some expedition was intended. Minds deeply tainted with jealousy, soon take alarm; the least intimation of a design so horrid as this, might confirm their belief of it. Under this fatal extremity, what resolution could be taken but that NADIR himself should die?

SALEH BEG, an officer of great intrepidity, and colonel of the body-guard of AFSHARS, offered his service for this purpose, and demanded only four chosen men as followers. The usual time of NADIR's going to rest being past, and a few hours before the signal for the intended massacre, SALEH BEG and his followers, under a pretence of urgent business, with some kind of violence passed the guard; and rushing into the outward partition of the harrâm met an eunuch, whom they dispatched. From thence they proceeded into the harrâm, where they met an old woman, whom they also killed. They were yet at a loss in which of the tents NADIR slept, till by the light of a lamp they discovered some jewels: here they rushed in and found him. Either he had not yet slept, or was awakened by the cries of the woman, and rose from his bed. When the assassins approached him, NADIR drew his sabre, and demanded what business they had: SALEH BEG made no answer, but immediately cut him with his sabre on the left side of his collar-bone. This did not prevent the SHAH's collecting force sufficient to kill two of the soldiers who came up to him to finish their leader's business. He was then retiring out of his tent, when the cords of it tripped him,

* There are many tents within one common inclosure.

1747. him, and SALEH BEG gave him a mortal wound. NADIR cry'd, "Mercy," and I will forgive you all;" to which this officer reply'd, "You have not shewn any mercy, and therefore merit none."

SALEH BEG having performed this important business, cut off NADIR's head. The TARTARS, to whom the tyrant had always shewn a distinguished preference, no sooner heard that he was killed, than they expressed the highest resentment, and took to their arms; upon which a general pillage and confusion ensued: in several quarters of the army they attacked the PERSIANS, at once to revenge the death of their general, and afford the better opportunity of plunder; so that before daylight above five thousand men on both sides were slain. The body of the slaughter'd NADIR was then produced; the TARTARS insisted on seeing his head also, and being satisfied that he was really dead, the whole army dispersed. Some of them joined the forces of ALI KOULI KHAN, who at that time was at no great distance. Others sought their respective homes, if such homes could then be found after so great a change of affairs, and after a continued campaign for eighteen years.

It is more than possible that a massacre of the PERSIANS in NADIR's army was really intended, however incredible the thing may appear. Massacres have been known even in the christian world, for the purposes of zeal, ambition, or false glory. The affair of DEHLIE is a proof that such a thought was not strange to the mind of NADIR. It is natural for mankind to propose some end to themselves, as the reward of their labours; which can be no other than the enjoyment of rest. This happens even to men who are formed only for action, and upon the trial enjoy no satisfaction in rest; so much does the mind long for some change in which life may become more grateful. NADIR's avarice was no longer supportable, he had filled up the measure of his iniquities; he had ruined PERSIA; he had lost the affections of his subjects, to a degree that converted all their sentiments of obedience into a thirst of revenge, which they only wanted an opportunity to gratify, he knew this,

^a I have never been able to get any information concerning those large jewels which ornamented the five sets of horse furniture belonging to NADIR. It is probable they were pilaged, or buried and lost on this occasion.

this, and had no sensibility of their sufferings. By the strength of his own understanding, he might easily foresee his fate approaching, if he did not take some desperate means to prevent it. His nephew and TAMARAS KHAN, or himself, must fall; unless he could secure a safe retreat in KHELAT. This was hardly possible, whilst he was surrounded by numbers who sought his destruction, and would carry their wishes into execution, upon the least diminution of his authority. 1747.

Many reasons may be assigned, why such a man under such circumstances, should have recourse to this expedient; since the complicated motives of revenge and cruelty, with despair of his own preservation on other terms, might suggest it to him. On the other hand there are many circumstances which do not favour the opinion, but it was generally reported and believed by the PERSIANS. The manifesto's published after NADIR's death, only mention his cruelty and avarice in general. ALI KOULI KHAN does acknowledge, that he was in a conspiracy against his uncle, and that he had sent a person on purpose to perpetrate the fact, consequently it might have been effected, without any such motive as the apprehension of an intended massacre. It is however probable, that NADIR was not without suspicion of the design of his nephew, and, if he intended the massacre, we may suppose it was in consequence of that suspicion.

Common sense and experience might teach us, that NADIR's conduct would produce a violent death at one time or other. No occasion could be more inviting than this: for besides all the terrors of his past cruelty, his army had nothing before their eyes, but the dreadful scene of civil wars, which had already laid waste so great a part of their country. The joint forces of ALI KOULI KHAN and TAMARAS KHAN had not yet committed any hostilities, yet were these leaders in a state of rebellion, and it was obvious, that they would never submit to NADIR, but by compulsive means. And for whom was NADIR's army to fight? For a man, whom they detested as a monster of cruelty and oppression.

Thus fell this scourge of the eastern world, at the age of sixty-one, after a reign of eleven years and three months, leaving a fatal proof how

much

1747. much it is in one man's power, in an age of great corruption, to plunge a whole nation into an abyſs of miſery, teaching alſo a leſſon, that the ſovereign who converts the mercy and juſtice which ought to grace a throne into oppreſſion and cruelty, muſt expect that Providence will ſet bounds to his iniquity. By his example we likewiſe learn, that the moſt ambitious prince can never arrive at the power of doing much miſchief, till a people are devoted to a vain and luxurious life, eager only in the purſuit of trivial and unworthy gratifications, corrupt to an extreme, and loſt to all ſenſe of virtue. Could PERSIA have thus groaned, under a world of miſeries, but by the iniquity of PERSIANS? That iniquity became the inſtrument of their tyrant's power, and never will there want a tyrant in any country, when the people are arrived to ſuch an extreme of venality and corruption.

P A R T VI.

THE

CHARACTER OF NADIR SHAH.

CHAP. XXXV.

Reflections on the death and general character of NADIR SHAH, An account of his person, voice, strength, arms, valour, memory, diet, dress, love of women, cruelty, avarice, distrust, artfulness, clemency, liberality, generalship, politics, &c.

AS the soul has certainly a consciousness after death, we must now leave poor NADIR to revise his own actions, and to consider if an obscure and early death had not been preferable to all the pleasures and triumphs of his life, but he is in the hands of that Judge, whose laws it is our honour and happiness to obey, and whose councils it is impiety to scrutinize.

The actions of this usurper made such a splendid figure even in the eyes of the EUROPEAN world, that for many years it was doubtful on what principles he acted, and consequently what praises were his due. Time has now taught us to strip them of all disguise; and as he who yesterday was lord of the lives of millions, is now levelled with the meanest, and it may be feared the vilest of men, we may speak of him without reserve. We may expatiate freely on the wonderful abilities by which he captivated those who were the instruments of his impiety.

Fortune and success are apt to dazzle the tender sight of mortal man, and to represent things as glorious, which in their nature are detestable.

What millions has the phantom FALSE GLORY sacrificed at her altars ! The actions of great conquerors, how unworthy soever, are often viewed in distant ages and remote regions, not with wonder and amazement only, but even with envy. But the prospect of eternity must convince us, that to die for the service of our fellow-creatures is really glorious ; whilst those who trample upon a prostrate world, and violate the laws of humanity, are but as dreadful storms, or pestilential blasts, to execute, the wrath of an offended God. Men who trace the paths of glory by the light of fire and sword, can have no right to be remembered, except it be with horror or indignation.

To enter deep into the characters of men, even of our own country and religion, is no vulgar task ; but if we travel into remoter regions, where the manners and genius of a nation differ very much, to unravel all the foldings of a heart, distinguished from among a whole people, by a mixture of qualities unintelligible upon common principles, the understanding is puzzled. In characters like that of NADIR KOULI, we may trace out the cruelty of a NERO ; the subtlety of a HANNIBAL ; the valour of a SCIPIO ; the artfulness of a CROMWELL ; with the fortune, as well as the catastrophe, of a CÆSAR : nor will these make up the composition, till we add the avarice of a VESPASIAN ; and b'end them all with an unpolished brutal temper, such as mean educations are apt to exhibit, when possessed of great power.

The minutest circumstances relating to those, who have been the objects of our astonishment, afford satisfaction to the mind. I will therefore mention such particulars, relating to NADIR KOULI, as have reached my knowledge, and which did not occur, or could not be so properly inserted, in the body of this historical account. Those, to whom his person was familiarly known, agree that his countenance was expressive rather of an ingenuous mind, than a cruel disposition. He was an AF-SHAR, as already mentioned ; and his face was rounder, and his nose less inclined to the ROMAN, than the PERSIANS generally are. His hair was black ; his eyes large and expressive ; his forehead high ; and his complexion

complexion swarthy. His body was robust; and his stature about six feet: his shoulders were round^u. His whole countenance and person were awful, particularly when he spoke.

His voice was so strong and sonorous, as to be audible to an incredible distance; and the effect it had upon his own soldiers, as well as an enemy, when he gave his commands in the field of battle, proved one great step to his advancement to the regal power.

His corporal strength was not less instrumental to his fortune. The extreme indulgence which had been shewn him by nature in the vigour of his constitution, received an accumulated force by the habit of his life. The battle-ax is one of the most antient weapons among the ORIENTALS, but it had been for some years much neglected in PERSIA; NADIR restored the use of it in a more particular manner: it was his favourite weapon, insomuch that before he assumed the diadem, he was generally stiled the AX-KHAN. Afterwards he was often seen with a battle-ax in his hand, playing with it in his tent of audience. His blows with this weapon carried with them inevitable death, of which he gave many proofs.

His memory was as remarkable, as his perfect knowledge of the genius and temper of the PERSIANS. He could at all times easily recollect the names, persons, and characters, of all those with whom he had any connection^w. He had studied the state of the finances, and knew the particular revenues of every province: but he was so great a master of the art of ways and means, that he over-shot his mark, and by his oppressions quite destroyed his own end. As he had no turn to contemplation, his spirits were free and untired by any reflections but what immediately arose from

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his

* The ORIENTAL people generally are round shouldered, arising from their manner of sitting, and this occasions there being very little of majesty in their gait.

^w What is related of him concerning his dictating to several secretaries at the same time, I apprehend arose from the notion that JULIUS CÆSAR did this. I will not dispute the abilities of either the ROMAN or the PERSIAN hero; but as the letters of the latter are contained in few words, the matter being given in general terms, the secretary performs it's office, and then reads the letter. And here it may be observed, that there have been some mistakes of their reading differently from what they wrote, which has been the occasion of great villanies and perplexities.

his employments in the field. He was far advanced in life before he had learnt to read; nor did any part of his knowledge depend the least on books. His presence of mind was very remarkable^{*}; and his resolutions were almost as quick as his thoughts: hence he did many things extravagant and absurd.

At one part of his life he drank freely of wine and brandy, but afterwards abstained from the latter entirely, and used the former in such a proportion only, as gave the greater energy to his thoughts, and supported the activity and strength of his body. The use of wine is contrary to the MAHOMMEDAN law, but his example recommended it to his soldiers. He used to feed liberally upon a simple diet; yet he would march a whole day upon the strength of a few parched pease, which it is common for the PERSIANS to carry in their pockets.

His dress was not remarkable; his mind seemed to be superior to external pomp or luxurious softness. His pride was in precious stones^{*}, with which his diadem was adorned, and he wore several in his turban also. He was often seen with a large sapphire in his hand, with which he used to amuse himself in his tent. It was said, that he always wore a coat of mail of chain-work under his cloaths: this is not improbable, considering the knowledge he had of the resentment[†] of the people towards him. He affected to go thinly clad, and recommended this example to his soldiers.

It is reasonable to believe, that mens passions are strong in proportion to what is generally understood by strength of mind, and in some measure connected with the appetite. Where religion and the custom of a country subscribe to any favourite inclination, it would be surprizing, if a man possessed of a boundless power, did not give as boundless a scope to such inclination. NADIR was remarkable for his love of women. It was said, that some years before his death, a virgin was brought to his bed every night: these are stories however which are ridiculous. He contented himself latterly with thirty-three women^{*};

some

^{*} See page 71.

Vol. I. page 255.

[†] I have already had occasion to mention the horse-furnitures,

^{*} These had about the same number of female servants and attendants, which constituted the number mentioned in Vol. I. page 249.

some of whom long retained a place in his favour. In his wars in TURKEY, he often carried his seraglio with him.

His detestation of sodomy was extreme: but though he had frequent occasions of making examples of the practisers of that sin, yet I never heard that he interfered but once; and then he caused the malefactor's eyes to be put out, his ears, his nose, and his lips to be cut off: under these miserable circumstances, this man put himself to death. In what manner the PERSIANS formerly regarded this sin, appears from the conduct of SHAH SEFFIE towards a youth, who, in resisting this atrocious crime, stabbed his own master, a KHAN of great distinction, for which the SHAH condemned him to be torn to pieces by dogs. The same fortitude which induced this youth to deliver himself by such desperate means, supported him to the last; and he died with the utmost bravery.

As to cruelty, it at length became a kind of diversion to NADIR; this was chiefly excited by avarice, and jealousy of his own security, as well as a habit of insensibility. I never indeed heard that he put any man to death, in cold blood, with his own hands, after his advancement to the diadem: this is more than can be said of some of their former princes, who lawfully possessed the regal dignity; for the PERSIAN kings through many ages have been remarkable for great inhumanity. How very different are the christian and MAHOMMEDAN princes? The former, who understand their dignity, never appear in cases of executions^a; the latter delight to be present, being otherwise diffident that their orders will not be performed. NADIR saw the executions of all those who were put to death in his camp^b, nor ever appeared in the least disturbed.

When mens crimes become various and complicated, and the judge blends his private passions or resentments with the exercise of his office, in what an extremity of misery must a nation be involved, where justice is thus administered?

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^a The late king of PORTUGAL was indeed carried away with false notions of religion, so as to be present, incog. at the burning of the jews.

^b The PERSIAN judges, either civil or military, who sit on causes, are obliged to be present at the execution of their own sentences, when it does not extend to death, they mitigate or increase as they think proper.

ministered? Some instances of NADIR's cruelty were the effects of policy. Upon occasion of his memorable exploit of driving the AFGHANS out of PERSIA^c, when he entered ISFAHAN in triumph, one of his soldiers violated the wife of a PERSIAN of distinction. ^dThe man complained to NADIR, that he could not live after so great an indignity; "No," says NADIR, "I think you cannot," and immediately ordered him to be strangled. He then explained to his officers the reason of his conduct in these terms, "I make no doubt but you will consider me as very cruel, for taking this man at his word; but what can I do in such times as these? A victorious army cannot always be restrained. Had I redressed this man's wrongs, I should have a hundred such complaints made to me, and my time would be taken up in chastising my soldiers, instead of employing them to conquer the enemies of our country." However, he altered his rule of conduct in this particular, of which I have related some instances.

He often suffered several to pass with impunity, though he knew they gave him no less harsh an appellation than villain; but towards those who exercised their wit in keener satyr, he was inexorable. It is a compliment amongst the PERSIANS, to say upon the entrance of a guest, "Your place was very void^d." In the mausoleum which NADIR caused to be built at MLSCHED, for his reception after death, somebody wrote on the walls in very pathetic terms; "Oh! NADIR, how full of thy renown is every corner of the earth! Thy name indeed is very great; but thy place here is very void." Severe inquisition was made for the author of this writing, it was concluded to be done by some man of letters; and many MULLAHs were brought to a trial: to compel them to a discovery, some were whipt to such an extremity, that they expired under the lash.

In allusion to NADIR's exaltation, a certain person observed of a fountain in ISFAHAN, that the higher the water was thrown up, the greater was the velocity of its fall. NADIR never wanted the base instruments of tyranny to acquaint him of the minutest actions; and this man gratified his wit at no less an expence than his life.

^c In 1727.

^d This answers to, Your company was much wanted.

None of their former kings ever inflicted punishments in a greater variety, or with circumstances more whimsical and extravagant, than NADIR. Two persons of distinction wrote to him several times, complaining of each other: at length they were both sent for to the camp. It is probable he knew the characters of these men; but without entering into the merits of either of their complaints, he pronounced them both rascals; "And since," says he, "you are so fond of troubling me with your epistles, I will spoil your sport;" accordingly he ordered the eyes of both of them to be put out. His wantonness in cruelty was not less apparent, in the instance I have mentioned of the dancer*. Another time he ordered a man's teeth to be pulled out, for no other reason than their being buck-teeth. The story of his causing SHAVERDI BEG to be beaten, in order that he might remember the charge which was given him†, had humour and judgment mixed with barbarity.

He treated common men and delinquents of the highest rank without much distinction of persons. It was no unusual sight in the chancery, to see those who had been the day before bastinadoed almost to death, whose eyes had been put out, or their nose cut off, yet brought before him to be further questioned. Upon these occasions they have often sunk down thro' pain or want of rest: and these miserable objects have been also obliged to travel with the camp. When NADIR sent for any person, if he did not instantly come, the messengers drove him with blows; and those who have made any short delay, to finish their prayers‡, or to perform any other weighty business, have been often bastinadoed.

The avarice of this tyrant was no less remarkable than his cruelty. It was his custom, according to the practice of former kings, to send for the governors of the provinces, however remote from his camp, to appear before him every new year's-day. His intention in this very frequently was to mulct them, or put them to death. His ordinary method was to interrogate them concerning the state and condition of the province,

* Vol. I. page 256.
much stricter in this respect than the christians.

† Vol. I. page 219.

‡ The MAHOMMEDANS are

province, and of their own behaviour in particular. From thence he proceeded to trifling and superfluous questions, concluding that he supposed they had defrauded him of large sums. "How much," says he, "of my money have you eaten^b; and in whose hands is it lodged?" These questions were ordinarily followed by the *bastinado*, to induce them to condemn themselves, or to accuse other people of being depositaries of considerable sums. It frequently happened that these persons, either to avoid the pain of corporal punishments, or with the hopes of being restored to their governments, have given in a fictitious list of persons as their debtors, with the sums due from each, and also of effects deposited in their hands. They even took this occasion to gratify their private resentments, by mentioning those as their debtors, who had given them any offence. The consequence of these declarations was the issuing a decree, ordering the collection of such sums and effects by the severest executions of military law, without any liberty of appeal previous to the payment. If these pretended debtors, after a severe beating were found incapable of payment, orders were often given to collect such sums from the province. The governors were frequently guilty of enormous extortions and cruelties, without giving a true account of what they had thus unjustly collected; yet the complaints of the people seldom obtained them any relief, for the elders or principal persons of the provinces, who were generally called on to appear as witnesses against their governors, were often compelled to make good their allegations, by paying the deficiency of the *SHAH's* demands, after the sequestration of the governor's effects. He carried the matter so far that upon a certain occasion, when he found himself distressed how to answer one who had vindicated his conduct, he said to him, "You rascal, did not you drink cold water?"

It does not appear, from any circumstance of the first stage of this man's life, that his temper was avaricious. It is natural to believe, that he thought nothing could secure his usurpation better than the poverty of the people, as the most effectual means of preventing their rebellions, or of rendering them abortive. This is the best argument that can be brought

^b The ordinary term in *PERSIA* for embezzlement.

^c This is an instance of such flagrant rascality, as hardly comes within the limits of belief, yet I have been assured that it is really true.

brought in extenuation of that crime, which at length became the great moving principle to drown PERSIA in blood. Poverty without doubt was a great discouragement, and often proved a bar to the success of their attempts against him. But what can we say of his unjust and cruel treatment of private persons, merely for the sake of what they possessed, where there was not the least reason to suspect their loyalty?

In 1740, several districts in GHILAN were ordered to equip soldiers for the service of the crown, and to be answerable in the penalty of one thousand crowns^k for each deserter. This proved a source of oppression; for these recruits were generally ill paid, and ill treated in the army, that they might be tempted to desert; and the payment of the penalty was always rigorously exacted of the securities.

When he found himself bound in honour to disapprove of the behaviour of his governors, of whose unjust conduct all possible evidence had been given, his decrees for restitution to the complainants were generally expressed in such ambiguous terms, as rendered the application for justice vexatious, and the issue of them oftentimes unsuccessful. Sensible of his predominant vice, his greatest officers greedily amassed riches, as the surest means of their preservation; though it frequently happened, those very riches were the cause of their destruction. Having been often challenged to answer for their corruption, several of the most considerable amongst them, at length resolved to keep a regular account of all presents they received, that in case of need they might produce it: but still it was a misfortune to possess any money; for NADIR seldom thought he had got their all. Shew and equipage is a favourite passion among the PERSIANS, yet I observed the governors who came to answer for their conduct, and other great officers, chose to walk on foot in the camp, rather than appear in any circumstances of affluence. As to the officers of inferior rank, they imagined their security consisted in refusing presents.

Avarice,

Avarice, the peculiar weakness of old age, increased on NADIR with his years: yet his rapaciousness might not be entirely an effect of this passion. If we consider the vast expence of his army; the impossibility of raising taxes upon his people, in the latter part of his reign; and that his safety depended on the military power with which he was surrounded; his INDIAN treasure, though reputed very large, was not sufficient to check his apprehensions of want. At length he gave a standing order to his ministers, not to present any petitions to him that were repugnant to the interest of the crown^m; by which was plainly meant, that he would do no other act of justice in money affairs, than the bare payment of his army.

The seizure he made on his own soldiers, on the banks of the INDUS, is as distinguished a proof of his avarice, as of his resolution. From that time he laid claim to all diamonds and jewels of value, that were exposed to sale in his dominions; alledging, that he had been defrauded of them, on the occasion of his INDIAN conquest; or that they were stolen out of his jewel-house. He has more than once punished offenders of this sort with bastonading, and even with death; and, in these cases, beside the loss of the precious stones, he inflicted a mulct of equal value.

Jealousy and distrust, in all their horrid forms, will ever wait in the chambers of tyrants, and torment them "before their time." NADIR's great officers were so sensible of this, that they were afraid to converse even with strangers, except when they were upon duty in their tribunals. Neither did they dare to visit each other in their tents, except in the day-time;

^m This is a common notion in arbitrary countries, where the prince and his subjects are often considered in so different a light, that many acts of justice are omitted, out of a religious regard to the interest of the crown, as they are pleased to call it. Perhaps it is from the same notion, that even in so polite and free a country as GREAT BRITAIN, the debts of a deceased prince are paid very late, and sometimes not at all. This conduct seems to be void of economy, if not of justice. If it is understood as a condition, that when a prince dies, the tradesman must lose his money, there ought at least to be some method in payments whilst he lives, and, in the mean while, the prince must pay dear for all that he consumes that is bought on trust.

time ; and that only in the presence of their servants, or other witnesses, lest a suspicion should be conceived of their caballing against him *. He made no scruple of telling the people that he was apprized of their disaffection, but that he neither regarded it nor them. An arrow was shot once into his quarters with a libel, accusing him of tyranny and irreligion ; demanding of him if he was a devil or god ; a tyrant, a king, or a prophet ? That if he was a god, they would supplicate his mercy to avert their punishment ; if a king, they intreated him to shew clemency ; if a prophet, to produce his mission ? To this paper NADIR made a very dispassionate answer : “ I am neither god nor devil, tyrant nor prophet ; “ but I am one sent from God, to punish an iniquitous generation of “ men.” This answer was written, and copies of it annexed to the libel, and placed in the most conspicuous part of the camp : a promise of pardon was also made to the author, if he would discover himself ; and a considerable reward to any person who should discover him.

Much may be alledged for the suspicious turn which he took ; for the PERSIANS are as gentle, soft, and persuasive in their manners, as they are full of cunning and deceit. They are polite, and affect condescension to strangers or guests ; but where they have any power or authority, their deportment is selfish, haughty, and insolent : to this we may add a strong propensity ° to rebellion. From his earliest life NADIR had an experimental knowledge of them, in all their several ranks and conditions ; and seemed now to have adopted as an invariable maxim, that they could be ruled only with a rod of iron. Thus several causes concurred to cherish a cruel, jealous disposition. As he mounted the throne by means of the corruption and immorality of the people, policy still required him to sow the seeds of a jealous enmity among the principal persons under his command.

How dreadful the situation of a tyrannical king, when the very union of his subjects is the greatest object of his terror ; and their mutual hatred and disgust essential to his support ! Religion was still the

M m 2

cloak

* See Vol. I. page 189.

° Though this may not be the proper characteristic of the people, yet it seems to be an effect of their present immorality, as well as resentment of tyranny.

cloak to foment animosities. The PERSIANS professed a veneration for ALI, and their expounders of the khoran; whilst the TARTARS, and other nations, of which his army was chiefly composed, were of the sect of the SUNNIS. NADIR ranked himself strictly with neither^p, but was equally attentive to gratify both, whenever the occasion required. His greatest support arose from the multitude of his spies and emissaries, detached into every part of the empire. His public officers and private agents, growing suspicious of each other, were equally impatient of giving the first information, of any secret design, or even disaffection, in prejudice to their master. Thus the nearest relations and most intimate friends, often entertained a jealousy of each other. Those who had any honesty in their nature, might be sometimes tempted for their oaths' sake, and to prevent the effusion of blood, to give intelligence; the envious and revengeful to gratify their private passions; his mercenaries for their interest: and almost in general were they desirous of sharing the spoils of ruined provinces; thus tearing out the entrails of their common parent, and rendering themselves instrumental to their own destruction. Every social virtue was neglected; common faith and common honesty were little more among them, than bare names. Under these circumstances, how could they be delivered from the power of one tyrant, without falling into the hands of another?

Whilst NADIR's glory was ripening, it was his policy to make great professions of esteem to those whose services he stood in need of; but afterwards he acted on the wretched maxim, that a king has no friend or relation. Gratitude consequently could not appear as a princely virtue, nor have any seat in his breast; on the contrary, he seemed diffident, that those who were capable of a zealous concern for his interest from a principle of affection, might on the same principle be partial to others also, if his conduct should render him ungrateful to them. This seemed to be the general rule he observed, with some few exceptions; since we find that the vigilance and moderation of MUSTAPHA KHAN and COSIM KHAN, the only two persons whose conduct I ever heard commended, supported them; and we must amidst all his crimes do NADIR the

^p We have already explained his political inclination to the sect of the SUNNIS.

the justice to remember, that he cherished these men to the last. This seems to prove how irresistible the charms of virtue are; and that the subjects of PERSIA were in general almost as little deserving mercy, as their king was disposed to shew it. But the amiable qualities of the mind being so rare, they could be no great objects of his dread: the perfections most level to his observation, and which struck most forcibly on his mind, were corporal strength and valour. Though he often stood in need of these, the person who acquired any distinguished reputation for them, became the object of his envy, if not of his fear. Of this they told me a remarkable story:

A certain MIM BASHI[†] had often distinguished himself in the field of battle: his skill in the use of the sabre, was not less extraordinary than his corporal strength, and he was at length made a KHAN. The PERSIANS, in their hyperbolical manner of speaking, say, that this man could cut a mule with a pack-saddle on her back through at one stroke. It is hardly credible how much the PERSIANS esteem bodily strength and military abilities: NADIR cast a jealous eye on this person; and as if he meant to try his virtue, he gave him the charge of a beautiful girl, to be carried to his brother IBRAHIM KHAN. On the way he debauched her; and IBRAHIM discovering the indignity, sent her back to the king his brother. It is easy to imagine, that NADIR would resent the affront also; in short, he vowed to shed the blood of the offender. RIZA KOULI MYRZA, then in high favour with his father, had a very particular regard for this officer; he attended the prisoner before the SHAH's[‡] pavilion, pleaded his cause, and obtained his pardon. NADIR, for the sake of his vow, ordered a bit of the offender's ear to be cut off. This however was but a temporary reprieve: soon after he was sent to burn a TURKISH village; but before it was possible for him to arrive there, he was recalled, and questioned why he had not performed his orders; and after several imperious insults, NADIR commanded that he should be strangled. Before the bow-string was thrown about his neck, he made a sign, as if he had something of importance to communicate; and, as is usual in
(such

[†] Commander of a thousand horse.
was a little before he was declared king.

[‡] The circumstances seem to indicate, that this event

such cases, a suspension was permitted. The KHAN availed himself of this interval, to plunge out of the hands of the executioners; and seizing the sabre of one near him, rushed forward towards the SHAH, who rose from his seat, and retired before his enemy. The attendants near the royal pavilion interposed, and killed the delinquent, but not before he had slain three of them. This circumstance was one great cause, why the people in general, as well as the prisoners, who were brought before the SHAH, were kept at a greater distance than common.

The natural pride of the human heart is flattered, when our superiors bring themselves down to our level. The general, who is not over-tender of his person, becomes the minion of the common soldiers; but if to courage he adds liberality, he subdues their hearts. NADIR was a master of every art of this sort, and in his first appearances in life, gained the universal affection of the army. He was no sooner vested with a command, than he became assiduous to ingratiate himself with the soldiers, not only by procuring them their pay in due time, but also good cloathing at an easy price, with the addition of occasional gifts. He was not ignorant of the use of clemency, in circumstances of great importance. A party of OUSBEGS, who had done him signal service in battle, afterwards deserted from him: he sent a body of troops, and brought them to his camp as prisoners: they expected death; but he bid them continue to serve him faithfully, as they had already done, and made every private man the present of fifty crowns, and gave five hundred to each officer. The revolt of soldiers, on whom he most depended for the security of his person, as well as the advancement of his glory, might have been attended with very dangerous consequences. But he no sooner carried his point, than he adopted new principles. Common prudence indeed obliged him to be watchful of the œconomy of his army; yet the meanness of his education could not be corrected by his advancement to the diadem; and whilst jealousy and distrust became his constant companions, cruelty and avarice gained the ascendant over him, in every action of the latter part of his life; this appeared in many circumstances, not only towards his army, but to the people in general.

No part of NADIR's character was more distinguished, than that of a general; he lived in the field in the several characters of a peasant, a captive, a servant, a robber, a soldier, a general, and a king. Bred up in all the arts and subtleties of the TARTARS, he acquired a great proficiency in the practical knowledge of robbery. Hence it is easy to imagine, that a person of his extraordinary natural talents and personal strength, should become forward, bold, and enterprising. Enured to a military life, he acquired a strong inclination for that variety which a continued change of place is apt to create. The intrepidity which he possessed in so eminent a degree, is a dazzling quality among men professing arms; but success established his character as an able and fortunate general. His person and voice were instrumental to his promotion, but his valour was not less so. They seem to have acted reciprocally on each other; and the consciousness of his superiority over most other men, rendered him dauntless to a degree of amazement; yet were his motions generally directed with great prudence: the same presence of mind which assisted him on all emergencies, taught him also how to consult his own safety; for it cannot be imputed entirely to fortune, that he was never wounded. In the height of his grandeur, he would upon any emergency, out-march his baggage, and suffer any hardship incident to a common soldier.

His quickness of observation where his forces were weakest, and his presence of mind in succouring them, ever gave him a wonderful superiority over his enemies. His resolution seemed to inspire his people with a determined purpose to conquer or die; nor did his officers ever behave ill with impunity. In action, he generally tired many horses, being never long missing where his presence was needful. Upon these occasions he was wont to address his men in such familiar terms, as seemed to demonstrate an opinion, that a soldier will not perform his duty well, when he has no regard for his general. He found it indispensably necessary to keep his army in motion, to prevent those conspiracies, for which a great part of his soldiers were always ripe; by this means also, the people in the remote parts of the empire were kept in awe, and
he

he was ready to oppose the invasion of his neighbours, or to make conquests.

As he enjoyed great health, and was enured to exercise, his activity was hardly to be exceeded. His mind was strongly tinged with the notion of predestination, and he became so much the more dauntless by it; yet we do not find that he fell into the absurd practice of deviating from the dictates of common sense, with which this erroneous principle sometimes affects its votaries. He seldom placed a confidence that was unnecessary, or exposed himself to a danger that was avoidable. In the conduct of his wars, he ever preferred stratagems to force. His marches were always amazingly rapid, and his progress so irregular, and contrary to the ordinary rules of war, that he confounded his enemies. Thus he often defeated their best-laid schemes, and attacked them where they were least able to defend themselves. Yet in matters of the greatest moment, his resolutions were generally so quick and surpassing ordinary apprehensions, that it seemed, doubtful whether they were the effects of a solid judgment, or a blind temerity. Under the difficulties in which he was often involved, irresolution seemed to be what he dreaded most; nor did he dare to ask advice, lest he should weaken the superiority by which he governed. The neighbouring MAHOMMEDAN states, after some years knowledge of him, conceived such an opinion of his penetration, and such a dread from his fortune, as to ascribe to him a kind of preternatural power. The same notions, among his own people, often led them to betray themselves, and desert their own cause.

As to religion, it was uncertain what his notions were: before a battle, it was his constant custom to prostrate himself for the space of a minute, and make an ejaculatory prayer; this being the chief, if not the sole act of religion, of which he gave any demonstration, as the PERSIANS confidently relate of him.

Never was a man more indefatigable with regard to personal application and attendance to every duty of a commander: and it was his practice in the height of summer, and sometimes at other seasons, to come to his tent of audience early in the morning, often making it a second visit before noon,
and

and spending many hours of the evening in the same manner. He was punctual in the payment of his army, and took a surprising care that his camp should be supplied with the necessaries of life; but at the same time he received great advantages by being the sole vender of cloth, and some other commodities to his soldiers, constantly employing a person under the denomination of the SHAH's merchant.

Whether it arose from the superiority of his genius that he neglected forms, or from the narrowness of his education that he could not fill up the character, he often forgot the dignity of a king. Upon the occasion of his giving a government to a certain person, he spoke to this effect: "Remember that you are not to have any communication with the 'MULLAH'; but I know that you will go to him by night, and you will talk of me; he will confess there is not such a king in the world as I am, but at the same time he will tell you I am a rascal, and have no mercy: take heed how you listen to his suggestions." Nor was he less ingenuous upon many occasions. Having asked if there were any prince on the earth greater than himself and the grand signior; and being answered, that there were not any, he replied, "You are mistaken; the BASHA of BAGDAT is greater than either of us; for both of us have been endeavouring to reduce him to our subjection, but his fortune and conduct have been superior to our attempts."

Many circumstances of the politics of this extraordinary man were unfathomable, particularly in his punishing offenders; petty crimes he often chastised with heavy punishments, whilst offences of the blackest dye sometimes passed with impunity, or a slight resentment. Even those who had been in open rebellion against him, he has more than once reinstated in their office, or preferred them to greater dignities, of which TAGHI KHAN is a remarkable instance. Thus he seemed inclined to trust those who had been his avowed enemies, rather than such as he had not yet proved.

In

* A certain priest whom NADIR suspected of disaffection, where they would sit, with other circumstances. page 110.

* He also mentioned the room * KURUMSACH. * As mentioned

In the latter part of his reign he had no counsellor; and his ministers in most repute were so far from being admitted to any kind of familiarity, that they dared not enter his tent. When they had business with him, they stood in the open air within the semicircle of his attendants, being rarely allowed to sit down. It must be observed, that the rank to which he promoted them was a reward for their valour, and their knowledge of the arts of extortion, not for their wisdom or probity; from whence it naturally followed, that men of the meanest extraction often possessed the highest offices.

The state of mankind is so corrupt, that actions even of the brightest hue frequently endanger the security of the actor, by the malice, envy, avarice, or ambition of other men. This has been in no country more verified in these latter ages, than in PERSIA. To those uncommon talents which NADIR possessed, had he joined humanity and probity of mind, it would be reasonable to think he might have been the instrument to prevent the ruin of that unhappy country. But could a man of probity rule over a people, whose corruption rendered them mature for destruction? Had the people been less vicious, the vices of the usurper could not have been so destructive.

In extenuation of NADIR's crimes, great as they will ever be acknowledged, there was a moral certainty of his becoming a sacrifice much sooner, had he been possessed of less power. It was with him, as with many great wicked men before him; being advanced in the perilous paths of ambition, he found it dangerous to stop, and impossible to retreat with safety. Self-preservation then called on him to march on, and explore the giddy heights from whence he fell, and involved his country in such prodigious ruin. We are apt to ascribe even the good actions of wicked men to sinister purposes. There is no character without some shades and mixtures of virtue. In the beginning of his reign, NADIR dispensed justice with an equal hand, and affected the name of a just king. Great encouragement was given to appeal to him upon every occasion of the extortion or illegal proceedings of his governors; nor was redress to be obtained but from his decrees: such was the abominable corruption

of the people. Thus at a time when men of sentiments might have some flattering expectations of happy consequences from the victories of their sovereign, the arts of venality prevailed so much, that even the royal decrees could not be carried into execution, without bribes and presents.

It is an incontestable fact, that PERSIA was indebted to NADIR KOULI for her deliverance from the yoke of the AFGHANS: to him she owed the restoration of her legal sovereign; and by his valour and conduct the PERSIAN monarchy recovered, in a little more than eight years, the several dominions which had been torn from her during the weak and effeminate reign of SHAH HUSSEIN, and the invasion of the AFGHANS; but that he acted on just principles, or possessed such abilities as were necessary to secure all these advantages, the fondest panegyrist never will pretend. On the contrary, it seems plain from the issue, that he was influenced by motives which eclipse his best actions, and that he aspired at the sovereignty from his first defeat of the AFGHANS. Many causes co incided to flatter the highest expectation that could be formed in his breast; of these the great corruption of the people must have been the chief; whilst the weakness of SHAH TÆHMAS opened such a prospect to him of mounting to the supreme power, as could not be resisted by a man, in whose mind all moral considerations gave way to his ambition.

P A R T VII.

THE

SHORT AND UNFORTUNATE REIGN OF
ADIL SHAH.

C H A P. XXXVI.

ALI KOULI KHAN *elected king of PERSIA at MESCHED. He sends his brother IBRAHIM MYRZA to ISFAHAN; and commits several cruelties. He solicits the friendship of RUSSIA. The revolt of AMUR ASLAN KHAN; also of IBRAHIM MYRZA. The death of ZORAB KHAN. The defeat of ADIL SHAH, and his brother IBRAHIM MYRZA, &c.*

1747. **E**UROPE seems to be very imperfectly acquainted with the consequences of the death of the usurper NADIR; even the RUSSIANS and the TURKS, who are best situated to receive information, have not, I believe, the most perfect accounts; and are moreover interested, either to conceal or misrepresent those which reach them: The spilling of NADIR's blood has been a fresh source of calamities to the PERSIANS. I have mentioned some few particulars, so far as they relate to our unfortunate trade over the CASPIAN SEA^b. All that I have to add, is a short account of some events which followed the catastrophe of the usurper.

It has been already observed, that MUSTAPHA KHAN was on an embassy to TURKEY, when NADIR's death happened. Providence seemed to interpose for his security, who was one of the very few honest men in

^b See Vol. II. pages 87, &c.

in PERSIA. As he was prevented from being a spectator, it is probable he escaped being a sharer also, in the unhappy fate of his master. He was arrived in the TURKISH dominions when the news reached him; and he thought it necessary for his security to proceed with all his retinue to CONSTANTINOPLE. In the mean while, the TURKISH ambassador, who was coming to confirm the peace lately concluded, had the good fortune to reach BAGDAT with all the valuable presents which he was carrying to the PERSIAN court. As to KNEZ GALITZEN, the news of NADIR's violent death no sooner arrived at RESHD, than he retired to ASTRACHAN by sea, as well to inform his court of this extraordinary event, and provide for the safety of his own person, as to receive fresh instructions.

ALI KOULI KHAN now made no secret, that he had been the chief instigator of the conspiracy against his uncle, and as such was considered as best entitled to the diadem. As he had been governor of MESCHED, no officer could boast of superior honours; and as the nephew of the late tyrant, he had been respected: but though he was so nearly related to NADIR, he had very little resemblance in his disposition; his temper was free, open and generous, nor was he without the reputation of being a good soldier.

The news of his uncle's death was no sooner brought to him*, than he came to MESCHED, where he put on the royal diadem, and took the name of ADIL SHAH, with the seeming applause of the inhabitants, and began his reign in a very popular manner. In consideration of the great poverty of the people; he remitted the taxes over the whole empire, and performed other acts of clemency. But at the same time, according to the execrable policy of MAHOMMEDAN princes, he imbrued his hands in the blood of his nearest relations. NESR ALI MYRZA first fell a sacrifice to his jealousy, nor did he spare the blind RIZA KOULI. Different accounts were given of his conduct towards SHAHROKH, the son of this blind prince,

* It is a circumstance not unworthy of remark, that the messenger who was sent with NADIR's head to ALI KOULI KHAN, lost it by the way, and to save his credit, produced that of another man.
The just king.

1747. prince, and grand-son * of NADIR. Whether the real SHAHROKH survived this event, or not; one under this name, who pretended to be the identical person, soon after assumed the diadem, as we shall relate. 'Tho' ALI had the reputation of being humane; yet his cruelty did not stop at the destruction of the sons of NADIR, for he also caused several of his uncle's women, who were with child, to be ripped up.

KELAT, with all the treasure in it being surrendered up to him, to all appearance the most prudent step which this new king could take, was to march immediately to ISFAHAN, and carry with him a great part of his riches. NADIR's army being for the most part dispersed, he could have left a sufficient number of troops on the eastern frontiers, and then raising a new army, establish himself on the basis of a military government, so essential to the support of his sovereignty. But he was blind to the danger to which he was exposed, and triumphing in a fond security from his immense riches, abandoned himself to his favourite gratifications of women and wine, and sent his brother IBRAHIM KHAN, whom we shall now call IBRAHIM MYRZA *, to ISFAHAN, in order to raise recruits.

His next business was to excuse himself for the share he had in the murder of his uncle; and, at the same time, to make his intentions known to the people, with regard to their future relief from that insupportable tyranny, which had been exercised over them; so that this event might afford them all the joy and consolation which was natural to expect from such a deliverance.

The following decree, which he sent to RESHD in the province of GHILAN, gives us an idea of the state of affairs a few weeks after NADIR's death.

“ WHEREIN

* According to the accounts we had at that time from PERSIA, it was doubtful whether the real SHAHROKH was put to death, or not, some report that he was previously sent away into safe custody, others, that he was present, but spared at the suggestion of the priest, as the only remaining blood, on the mother's side, of the ~~SAFAR~~ family. As the brother of a king, we shall call him MYRZA, or prince.

" WHEREIN STANDS

" THE KINGDOM OF GOD,

" SHAH AND SOVEREIGN OF THE EMPIRE,

" A SERVANT OF ALI,

" A MANDATE WHICH THE WHOLE WORLD OBEYS^b.

" The noble and honourable CHEICH EL ISLAM^c; the KAZZI^d; the
 " elders and all subjects; the poor and oppressed inhabitants of RESHD,
 " LAHIJAN, RANCOUTE, KESKAR, FUMIN, SHEFTA, KUGDUM^e, and
 " the places thereunto belonging; to whom the Almighty has granted
 " his unutterable mercies; who are assured of, and exalted by our in-
 " comparable sovereign favour; shall KNOW, in what manner the wick-
 " edness of the barbarous monarch^f hath prevailed. All nations and
 " languages, the exalted and the humble, the good and the bad subjects
 " of the empire of IRAN^g, are too well acquainted with his proceedings.
 " Their incessant cries and lamentations have reached even unto the
 " heavens. By putting out the eyes of the inhabitants, depriving them
 " of their lives; and selling the sons and daughters of mussulmen; even
 " the seven celestial circles^h were moved to compassion. In a word, the
 " extortion of elphsⁱ and crores^k has been the cause of multitudes of
 " people losing their sight^l; whilst the tyrannical monarch barbarously
 " erected lofty towers of human heads through the provinces, exceeding
 " all the cruelties of past ages. At length, our sovereign majesty com-
 " manded the most eminent and high instructed, MAHOMMED KOULI,
 " KHAN, our KURCHI BASHI^m, that he should prevail on the AFSHAR
 " guards, to seize and remove the tyrant, thus performing a service
 " highly beneficial to the public welfare, restoring rest and tranquillity
 " to the nation. MAHOMMED KOULI KHAN did not refuse to obey.
 " All

^b This was the inscription on the royal signet, which they place at the head of the decree.

^c Chief of religion ISLAM we have observed signifies safety, by which is meant the MAHOMME-
 DAN religion

^d Judges.

^e These are districts in and about GHILAN.

^f NADIR

^g PERSIA.

^h The planets

ⁱ Five hundred thousand

hazardenae, or 125,000 l.

^k Ten elphs, or five millions of crowns, or 1,250,000 l.

are equal to a crore in INDIA.

^l He here quotes a text out of the KORAN, which

is very obscure, and contradictory. I have heard that the number of persons blinded, was not less than thirty thousand, but this seems to be exaggerated.

^m Vol III p 73.

1747. " All persons of distinction, and the whole army near our victorious and
 " splendid stirrup, were anxious to extirpate the deep-rooted violences
 " and oppressions of this tyrannical king. We therefore marched at the
 " head of our forces from FERAG and HERAT, and came with haste
 " for that purpose ; but on our arrival on the borders of TEREDDSHAN,
 " news came that the AFSHAR guards had already seized the tyrant. In
 " the mean while there happened a commotion among the TARTARS^a,
 " for the suppression of which there was no other remedy than to give
 " the tyrant the reward of his actions.

" The fort of KÆLAT, which the late king had spent many years
 " in rendering impregnable, thanks to the Most High, was in one day
 " brought under our subjection by SEGRAB BEG, whom we sent thither
 " for that purpose.

" As soon as these happy tidings reached our ears, we marched to the
 " holy city of MESCHED, where all the ministers, commanding officers,
 " and persons of distinction present, did with one common voice intreat
 " our majesty to take upon us the government of the empire, to rebuild
 " the ruined houses, and repair the desolations of PERSIA. They pre-
 " sented as their intercessor the holy saint, who is buried in that city^b,
 " and would not desist from their importunity.

" When we considered the sad state of the PERSIANS for several years
 " past, who had been obliged not only to deliver up all their substance,
 " but themselves, and their families, to be slaughtered^c, we thought it
 " necessary to shew our sovereign favour to the oppressed ; to appease
 " the wrath of heaven ; to satisfy the creatures of God, and to gain the
 " love of the people. We have therefore been graciously pleased to order,
 " and do hereby command, that the new contributions in money^d, im-
 " posed

^a Ali disguises the real fact, but gives some light in regard to the contest between the TARTARS and PERSIANS. He seems to assume the merit of removing his uncle, but yet to impute the execution to the AFSHARS, who were NADIR's body guard. ^b The sepulchre of IMAM RIZA often mentioned.

^c He so quotes another text out of the K'oran. " You are all shepherds, and every one craves from you," by which I suppose is meant, that in consequence of an abused authority, every subject was pillaged. ^d Provisions, &c. were sometimes demanded.

“ posed on subjects and strangers, shall from henceforward cease and be
 “ annulled. We likewise discharge the collectors[†], who are in your
 “ province, and you are to send them to our court. But the money and
 “ effects belonging to the crown, which are already collected, shall be
 “ accounted for[‡]. All the other revenues for this year, as also all taxes
 “ for the following two years, we do most graciously forgive, that the
 “ subjects of ISLAM, and all other religions, as likewise the INDIANS
 “ and others, who for some years have been subject to every kind of
 “ torture and oppression, may enjoy an uninterrupted safety and tran-
 “ quillity, and solicit the MOST HIGH for our welfare.

“ What concerns the support of post-horses[†], those to whom this of-
 “ fice belongs shall take proper care; and for the future double the num-
 “ ber of horses shall be kept at each stage, as was lately ordered; and
 “ the money for maintaining of them shall be taken out of the treasury
 “ of the province. In case of any deficiency, a representation being
 “ made to us, it shall be supplied from other treasuries.

“ For settling the accounts of this year, two or three writers and ca-
 “ lentars shall be sent to our high court. And concerning the estates,
 “ which in the late reign were taken from numbers of the people, we
 “ shall order an inspection to be made, and a circumstantial account
 “ thereof to be sent to us. And that every one may be satisfied in this
 “ particular, we shall without delay appoint a proper person for that pur-
 “ pose. Given in the month of DSCHEMADIELSAM, 1160[§].”

ALI having made some dispositions for settling his government, he came
 with a body of forces to spend the remainder of the year at the palace of
 ASHREFF[¶], near the midst of the south-coast of the CASPIAN SEA. In
 that situation he hoped to suppress any insurrection that might arise in the
 northern provinces, presuming that his brother IBRAHIM MYRZA would
 protect the south, whilst in case of necessity he might again direct his
 march

[†] MOHARILS

[‡] The term is, entered in the cash book.

[§] The reader will ob-

serve in several passages of these volumes, that the bad conduct of couriers was one of the grievous
 oppressions under which PERSIA groaned

[¶] About the beginning of JULY 1747.

[¶] See Vol. I. page 293.

1747. march eastward. In the mean while AMUR ASLAN KHAN acknowledged the sovereignty of this new king, and commanded in the west. This person was an officer of great experience, and had been a favourite of NADIR, he was now in SHIRVAN at the head of thirty thousand men.

In order to confirm the peace which NADIR had made with the TURKS, ADIL SHAH sent an envoy-extraordinary to the PORT, to signify his exaltation to the throne of PERSIA, and his inclination to live in harmony with the grand signior: this minister accordingly arrived there in APRIL 1748. It is easy to conceive how ill the TURKS would relish the advancement of a nephew of NADIR. That Providence had thus removed him, who had been so great an object of their terror, afforded great satisfaction; but their ambition was to see that army crushed, which had been so often the instrument of shedding such streams of their blood, and making their sovereign tremble in his very capital. The result of this embassy was, that the two courts should mutually send ambassadors with the usual pomp and formalities: in the mean while, we are left to imagine that the TURKISH partizans would not be idle in fomenting that civil discord in PERSIA, which they had found so advantageous; since without the expence of blood and treasure, without danger or inconvenience, they could thus look on and see their natural enemy tearing out her own bowels.

ADIL SHAH was not less assiduous to cultivate the most perfect amity with the RUSSIANS. The retreat of the ambassador KNEZ GALLITZEN from GHILAN, had given the PERSIAN ministers some alarms. KOULIFA, who had been formerly ambassador in RUSSIA, wrote to the RUSSIAN ambassador in SEPTEMBER: the following extract contains the most material part of the letter:

“ May your eminence’s blessed health, by the grace of the Almighty,
“ endure to the end of the world. “ I have had the honour to write to
“ you several friendly letters, sent through the hands of the most noble
“ and most honourable of the religion of MESSIAH, the resident of the
“ high imperial court of RUSSIA; but I have not received any answer.
“ I

“ I long with impatience for your arrival ; God grant it may be soon, 1747.
 “ that we may once more happily see each other.

“ I now acquaint you, as I have already done, that his majesty, equal
 “ in dignity to ALEXANDER, and in servants to DARIUS, protector of the
 “ whole world, ADIL SHAH, whose reign may the Most High preserve
 “ for ever, and my soul serve him as a sacrifice, has been graciously
 “ pleased to mount the throne of IRAN. Thus by the help of God, the
 “ government of the whole empire is in the high power of his majesty,
 “ the most gracious and just monarch. The fort, KÆLAT, with all the
 “ treasures and riches therein contained, is in his majesty's possession ;
 “ and the enemies of his everlasting court, thus established by the Al-
 “ mighty, are utterly extirpated.

“ It will appear to you by the copy of the mandate inclosed, that the
 “ most gracious monarch did imagine you yet resided at RESHD, there-
 “ fore he commanded me to wait on your eminency ; and ordered the
 “ most noble ACHMED KHAN to convoy you to MAZANDERAN, where
 “ the most worthy MAHOMMED ALI BEG, KHAJAR, of noble descent,
 “ will meet and conduct you with all due honour to the SHAH's high
 “ court. To conclude, I wish the days of bliss may last for ever.”

This letter was accompanied with long instructions from the SHAH
 to KOULIFA, to shew all possible honour to the ambassador. ACHMED
 KHAN had also commands to the same purpose, all demonstrative of his
 desire of supporting the best correspondence with his neighbours the RUS-
 SIANS. Within very few weeks after NADIR's death, and before he came
 to the palace of ASHREFF, the SHAH himself sent a letter to the em-
 bassador GALITZEN. Like others, it was marked with his seal at the
 head, viz.

“ WHEREIN STANDS
 “ THE KINGDOM OF GOD,
 “ SOVEREIGN OF THE EMPIRE,
 “ A SERVANT OF ALI.

1747. "The most eminent, high appointed, noble and high intrusted em-
 " bassador, from the most exalted imperial court of RUSSIA, KNEZ GA-
 " LITZEN, shall be assured of our sovereign favour, and KNOW, that
 " the vile disposition and corrupted nature of the late monarch surpassed
 " all bounds. How cruel his proceedings have been, you will be cir-
 " cumstantially informed in due time.

" At present you are acquainted, that our sovereign majesty, by the
 " grace and assistance of GOD, has been highly pleased to take the throne
 " of the PERSIAN empire; at which time it has been represented to us,
 " that your eminence has been sent here as an ambassador, from the
 " most puissant and imperial court of RUSSIA; and that the most emi-
 " nent SERDAR², AMUR ASLAN KHAN, NEDSCHEFF BEG, and other com-
 " manders did receive your eminence on the borders of PERSIA, but
 " made such bad preparations for your journey through SHIRVAN, as
 " created a disgust, for which they shall be accountable.

" And whereas it has been represented to our majesty, that your emi-
 " nence is endowed with good understanding, a quick insight, and a
 " decent behaviour in all things³; and sent expressly with so great a
 " power to our high court, to establish amity; therefore we hope you will
 " not be offended on account of these accidents. And as we are inclined
 " to support the friendship and harmony between our sovereign majesty
 " and her imperial majesty of RUSSIA; and likewise to shew you all
 " honour, we desire you will proceed with the utmost confidence to our
 " high court. Given in the month of REDSHEBEL 1160²."

This new king was too much inclined to peace, to neglect the cul-
 tivation of a good understanding with his neighbours; and to be wanting
 in nothing that could be agreeable to RUSSIA, he prepared an embassy
 with a view to make a defensive and offensive alliance with that court,
 and also a treaty of commerce, which might be beneficial to the sub-
 jects of both empires. Envoies from the PERSIAN court were actu-
 ally

² General.

³ This is the common flattering stile of the PERSIANS.
 beginning of JULY 1747, sent from MESCHED. The new SHAH was yet at MESCHED, and ap-
 pointed convoys for the ambassador, to conduct him from ASTRABAD to DSHADSHIRIN and
 AFSHERIN.

² The

ally, sent to ASTRACHAN^a. The RUSSIANS proceed with great caution in their oriental treaties, and generally divert the PERSIANS in the last mentioned city for several months, before they conduct them to court. Under the precarious circumstances of the PERSIAN king, doubtless many reasons occurred for acting with reserve. 1747.

The beginning of this year opened a new scene, not less fatal or bloody than any of the preceding. AMUR ASLAN KHAN, who commanded in the western provinces, and resided at TAVRIS, already gave indications of his design to revolt. The SHAH being arrived at ASHREFF, sent several messages to him, desiring him to come to court: he feigned various excuses, and at length threw off the mask by killing the couriers whom the king had appointed to conduct him. This event was soon followed by an act of hostility, not only in violation of his duty as a subject, but also of the laws of justice and hospitality. To what extremities will not a false ambition hurry its votaries! This KHAN, who was the exact copy of his tutor and late master NADIR SHAH, began to be sensible of the impossibility of supporting an army without money; nor could he procure any considerable supplies from ADERBEITZAN, SHIRVAN, or any of the neighbouring provinces where his jurisdiction reached: he therefore resolved to obtain by robbery, what he could not procure by any appearance of equity. He knew that the ENGLISH factors in RESHD were possessed of a sum of money, which no doubt was represented to him as much larger than it really was, he therefore sent RIZA KÖULI KHAN with a body of seventeen hundred AFGHANS, to pillage these unfortunate strangers, who had given him no offence. These forces arrived in RESHD the twentieth of JANUARY. The governor, ACHMED KHAN, retired to LAHIJAN, not being in a capacity to protect the city: thus they were left to follow the dictates of their own wild suggestions, whilst the villainy of some of the inhabitants prompted them to share the plunder, by purchasing the stolen goods at a very inconsiderable price^b. The ENGLISH factors took the precaution to retire with their money; but their effects became a prey, and were totally pillaged, with circumstances that proved the madness of the times, and the

^a See Vol. II. page 93:^b See Vol II page 90

1748. the destructive consequences^c of civil war. The city of RESHD however escaped being plundered; for it seemed to be the intention of AMUR ASLAN KHAN, to support some reputation, in hopes of being acknowledged in a very short time as the sovereign of PERSIA.

The news of this incursion no sooner reached ASHREFF, than ADIL SHAH dispatched a body of his troops to RESHD. The AFGHANS, loaded with their plunder, were marching back, but were reached no further than KESKAR, when ACHMED KHAN, at the head of the SHAH's troops, came up with them, and totally defeated them^d. Their spoil fell into the hands of the SHAH's forces, who it was but natural to expect, as they were sent for the support of government, and the succour of the injured, should have made it their chief business to obtain restitution; but this was a degree of virtue which they did not even attempt. AMUR ASLAN KHAN having met with this defeat, resolved to remain only on the defensive; he was already in correspondence with the king's brother, IBRAHIM MYRZA, and if we may judge from circumstances, was the chief promoter of the rebellion of this young prince against his brother; secretly intending to reap the fruits of that quarrel, in which he hoped to see them soon involved; since, by playing one against the other, his expectations were in the highest degree flattered, that he should obtain the diadem himself.

ADIL SHAH finding that he had a formidable enemy to contend with in the west, sent orders to his brother IBRAHIM in ISFAHAN, to come to his succour with a large body of forces, designing as soon as the spring was a little farther advanced, to march against AMUR ASLAN KHAN. IBRAHIM, who was now only twenty-two years of age, in the vanity of his heart, thought it absurd, at the head of a numerous body of forces, to be any thing less than a king: the revolt of AMUR ASLAN KHAN had, in his fond imagination, prepared so easy a means of obtaining the diadem, that he had little more to do than to receive it. But in order to bring about another revolution, it was necessary to render his brother's government odious to the people, at least to secure the inclination of the officers and

^c See Vol II page 90, 91

^d See Vol II page 91

and foldiers under his command. Here again religion was the plea, and the very motive which ought to have disposed their minds to a grateful submission to the dispensation of providence, was prostituted to the purposes of wild ambition. 1748,

ALI KOULI KHAN, from a certain generosity of disposition, had ever since he was appointed governor of MESCHED, shewn a particular regard to the christians: his favourite wife was a GEORGIAN lady of the religion of her country, and for whom he had an entire affection. Being now advanced to the regal dignity, he promoted her brother ZORAB KHAN to the office of his treasurer, and commander of his army. The SHAH seemed in this to err in judgment, as it had not been lately a practice to commit so high a trust to one born a christian, and who, it might be presumed, still inclined to that persuasion. This was the pretended cause of IBRAHIM'S disaffection to his brother.

The SHAH had soon reason to fear that the authority which he had given to IBRAHIM MYRZA to raise forces, was not employed agreeably to his intentions. Under this apprehension, he sent his brother-in-law ZORAB KHAN to ISFAHAN with the strongest assurances of his affection, and with promises to gratify him in any thing that was reasonable, and that he might see by the dignity of the messenger, in what high esteem he held him. It is reasonable to presume that the SHAH was sincere, and from thence flattered himself into a belief that his brother IBRAHIM might be won over to a sense of duty. If these were not his sentiments, it was highly impolitic to trust his brother-in-law in the possession of his enemy: the event proved that this young man was not to be brought over by intreaties, for ZORAB KHAN soon after his arrival was treacherously put to death as he was bathing.

IBRAHIM MYRZA having thus thrown off the mask, wrote to MEHTIE KHAN*, one of the SHAH'S generals, inviting him and the foldiers under his command to take part with him against the king. He could not corrupt this general, but he brought over part of his forces. The

SHAH

* This is the man who wrote NADIR'S history, which has never yet appeared in the world, nor probably never will.

1748. SHAH finding his security thus endangered, wrote to his brother in very affectionate and pathetic terms, representing the dreadful calamities of civil war, and that his revolt must necessarily bring on the total ruin of their poor country, already in an expiring condition, with the wounds it had received by the cruelty and ambition of their uncle: at the same time he made proposals of a composition, which might gratify his brother's desire of a state in a great measure independent. Those who wished well to the tranquillity of PERSIA, flattered themselves with some hopes, that possibly the two brothers might, by sharing the sovereignty, unite in one common interest, and by quashing AMUR ASLAN KHAN, restore the kingdom to peace; but that was only a fond presumption: the same disposition which determined IBRAHIM to revolt, rendered a compromise of that kind impracticable, were such union consistent in the nature of things.

In the mean while, the minds of the people were distracted with anxiety, concerning the issue of a war, which would probably afford occasion for fresh competitions, and involve their unhappy country in inextricable miseries. No recourse now remained but that of arms. In the month of MAY, ADIL SHAH marched with a great body of forces from MAZANDERAN, through a narrow pass in mount TAURUS, towards the plains of CASBIN, where he had appointed his rendezvous. ACHMED KHAN, with a strong reinforcement from GHILAN, was ordered to march through the streights of that province to meet him. IBRAHIM MYRZA at the head of his army, had already left ISFAHAN, and having notice of the intended junction of his brother's armies, made forced marches in order to intercept ACHMED KHAN, which he accomplished without the loss of any blood. This unhappy general fell in with the enemy's camp early in the morning, mistaking it for a body of forces belonging to the SHAH his master, and was taken prisoner by IBRAHIM MYRZA. We have already mentioned, that ACHMED KHAN gave the first check to the arms of AMUR ASLAN KHAN. IBRAHIM therefore thought he could not make his court more agreeably to his confederate, than by sending this general to be sacrificed. AMUR ASLAN was too much a copy of NADIR, to have any mercy; and ordered ACHMED as soon

as he arrived, to be brought to the entrance of his tent, where he gratified his revenge, by seeing him cut to pieces. 1741

ADIL SHAH advancing towards his rebellious brother, who feigned a retreat, was drawn into a snare. Being attacked in flank by a great body of AFGHANS, he was deserted by his army in so shameful a manner, that he lost the day without putting it to the issue of a battle. He behaved with great personal valour and intrepidity, killing several with his own hands; till at length seeing his forces scattered, he left the field, and retired to TEBHIRAN. There finding himself abandoned, and utterly incapable of collecting his army, after three days he went to IBRAHIM's camp, and surrendered himself; the only proof of mercy he received from this unnatural brother, was in being suffered to live a short time; but in that interval it was not permitted him to see his brother, nor even to enjoy the light, for his eyes were cut out immediately.

Thus ended the short and unhappy reign of ADIL SHAH. He was a man of an easy placid temper, and might in times of less corruption have made a good king; but he does not appear to have had a genius equal to so weighty a task, as the government of so impious a people. All we can say of him is, that he has been the only prince since NADIR, who has been considered as a sovereign by any foreign state: that he meant to support his government upon principles the reverse of NADIR's; and, had he lived, that he would, to all appearance, have done justice to those, who suffered by the villainy of AMUR ASLAN KHAN.

Notwithstanding his success, IBRAHIM retained the name of MIRZA, declining that of SHAH. It is probable he was the more induced to this reserve, by the tokens which AMUR ASLAN KHAN immediately gave of a design of usurping the sovereignty. This KHAN was turned of sixty years of age, and could not but consider IBRAHIM as a boy by no means entitled to the diadem, compared with himself. He was at the head of thirty thousand men enured to war under the command of NADIR, and had

^c The BRITISH merchants mentioned already.

had acquired a great proficiency in the science of arms, as well as political intrigue. In the last he had already succeeded; by having been one great instrument in the defeat of ADIL SHAH. He was too much of the genius of his old master, to promise PERSIA that repose for which she languished, but which never could be found by means so apparently destructive of the end.

After resting his troops, and dividing the spoil taken from his brother; IBRAHIM prepared for a visit to AMUR ASLAN KHAN, and for that purpose directed his march towards SHIRVAN. Youthful as he was, he acted the politician, preferring the removal of his competitor by assassination, rather than to put his fortune to the issue of a battle. Art and contrivance not founded in justice, often betray their own cause. The crafty AMUR ASLAN was thus taken in the snare he had laid for others, and fell a sacrifice to his ambition. What became of his army is not said, we may presume it was dispersed.

In the mean while the eastern parts of the empire being left unawed by the presence of an army, the inhabitants espoused the cause of the young SHAHROKH already mentioned; and he was declared king, at MESCHED. The officers and persons of distinction in that quarter were the more disposed to take this step, as it gave them an opportunity, under the name of a regal authority, to possess themselves of the great riches which yet remained at KALAT. In such a confusion of affairs, PERSIA might be easily imposed on with regard to the identity of this person: happy were it for that distracted country, if such imposition could have restored it to tranquillity.

IBRAHIM MYRZA was now informed concerning his new adversary. Flushed with conquest, he had extended his liberality beyond the prudence of a general, or the experience of more advanced years. At length he found himself grown poor and incapable of gratifying the demands of his army, which was chiefly composed of AFGHANS, not disposed to follow their leader, without either pay, or provision. There was no possibility of exacting contributions in a country already drained, not of money
only,

only, but of almost every thing necessary to the support of life. Many of his soldiers knowing where to find another master, who was reputed rich, deserted. What constancy could he expect from men who had just turned their arms against a prince whom they acknowledged a few months before as the deliverer of their country from the yoke of insupportable tyranny! Thus circumstanced, IBRAHIM was induced to hasten his march eastward, as well to obtain a fresh supply of money, as to quash his enemy. He had not advanced far, when he met with some partisans of SHAHROKH. His van-guard having reached TÆHIRAN, were refused a supply of provisions: IBRAHIM immediately sent EMIR KHAN, the general of his artillery, with his cannon and a strong detachment, to compel the inhabitants to a compliance. It appears that EMIR KHAN had no opinion of his master's cause, or was secretly dissatisfied; in short, he took the opportunity to abandon IBRAHIM, and join his opponents: for as soon as this prince came under the walls of the town, EMIR KHAN turned the cannon upon him, and sallying out at the same time, by this unexpected attack dispersed his army. It is probable that IBRAHIM ended his life upon this occasion, as we hear nothing more of him from that time. Thus did Providence bring to confusion this rash youth, who with less vanity, and a little more understanding, might have operated with his brother, and instead of involving his country in misery, restored it to a prosperous condition.

SHAHROKH SHAH was now without a competitor. During these commotions, the AFGHANS of KANDAHAR, or some other subjects in the eastern frontier, revolted: SHAHROKH having formed a considerable army, marched against them. What the success of this enterprize was, my authorities are silent: but in his absence from KHORASAN, appeared a fifth competitor. There was an uncle of SHAH TÆHMAS, named SULIMAN, who, during the reign of NADIR, having given no marks of ambition, and taken the habit of a MULLAH, lived quiet and unmolested. This man was now dragged to the throne as it were on purpose to be slaughtered: his adherents had prevailed on him to assume the diadem; but his reign was very short, for upon SHAHROKH's return he be-

P p z came.

* This particular I never heard with any exactness.

1750. came a sacrifice. It is said that one ISMAEL then set up against SHAH-ROKH. We have great reason to believe, that the latter, for some time, promised fair to maintain himself in the throne, till at length he was obliged to yield to SHAH DOUB, of whose family I have no information.

HERACLIUS, a GEORGIAN prince, then appeared on the stage, whose fortune is yet said to prevail over all competition. This prince's being a christian, seems to render his establishment very difficult; nor is it easy to imagine that the TURKS will be idle spectators of a christian king of PERSIA. They have already had the satisfaction to see the deepest humiliation of their hereditary enemy. NADIR, who died their fields with blood, and whose very name so often made them tremble, has, by the consequences of his tyranny, reduced PERSIA more effectually, than could have been performed by any foreign enemy. Though the sword is not the just instrument of propagating the faith of the true MESSIAH, yet it is a circumstance worthy of attention, that the GEORGIANS are a very brave people, and may, by the countenance of the RUSSIANS, be capable of carrying greater designs into execution than the world is at present aware of.

When we consider the fate of kingdoms, we ought to observe, how men are led astray by their passions, against the light of their own minds. How infatuated were the PERSIANS, or how lost to all sense of virtue, after a series of bitter calamities, to depose their true king, when the experience of ages had taught them there could be no security under an usurper. But what were they to expect from such a king as NADIR KOULI, whose hands were so deeply imbrued in blood? What could be expected, but that a man of his genius and principles, bred up to murder and rapine from his earliest life, would bring all things into confusion? Yet even in the politer regions of the world, such are the impressions which mankind ordinarily receive from military achievements, that events which ought to draw tears for the distresses of human nature, are made the subject of joy and exultation, till a reverse of fortune gives a quick sense of the fatal effects of such false glory. How execrably pernicious are the fond notions of happiness, arising from the successful

ful invasion of another's right! Crimes, for which every law, divine and human, condemn a private man to death, become warrantable by the laws of arms. What wisdom and integrity ought to wield the sword, which at best is but the instrument of divine justice for the correction of national crimes and offences!

It cannot be from the original constitution of things, that the Almighty has ordained war as essential to the well-being of mankind. The state of nature is a state of peace; but the shedding of human blood becomes familiar by habit, and a continued course of foreign wars prepares the minds of a people for every desperate enterprize, of which the worst is intestine broils; and these have at length extinguished the glory of PERSIA. What the fate of that wretched country will be, heaven only knows: but this is evident, that the splendor of their monarchy, all their monuments of art and labour, with all the industry of past ages, are swallowed up by the ravages of war. What numbers of their towns, their cities, their fruitful plains and delicious mountains, are become a dreary waste, and the habitation of wolves!

The fate of empires is a subject the most interesting. Reason and religion teach us to implore the almighty disposer of events, to succour mankind in general; we ought then to send up our prayers, that his mercy may extend to the PERSIANS, and restore them to a just sense of virtue, that their nation may again become great and happy.

I N D E X,

To Vol. III. and IV.

Note, The numerals refer to the volumes, and the figures to the pages.

A.

- A**BAS the GREAT, a cruel prince, iii 19 came into the world with his hands bloody, *ibid* instances of his cruelty, *ibid*. had not a proper education, iii 20 orders his son to be blinded, *ibid* builds a mosque at Meshed to discourage the Persians pilgrimage to Mecca or Medina, iv 21
- ABAS II** one of the best kings of the Sefvies, iii 20, 21 his reign and death, iii 21
- ABAS III** an infant, preferred to his father, iv 73 the sovereignty in the hands of Kouli Khan, *ibid* the young Shah dies, iv 123
- ABDALLAH BASHA**, a Turkish general, Cabbis surrendered to him, iii 241 defeats Tehmas's troops before Ardeville, iii 242 retreats to Cars, iv 120
- ABDALLAH KOUPROLI** gives battle to Kouli Khan in the valley of Arpakavi, iv 119 is slain with many thousand Turks, iv 120
- ABDALLAH KOUPROLI**, son of the Serafker Kouproli, slain at the battle of Cars, iv 253
- ABDOLLEES**, apply to Abas king of Persia for relief against the Ousbeg Tartars, iii 25 a nation divided into tribes, iii 62 dissatisfied with their subjection to Persia, *ibid*
- ABDUL AZIZ KHAQ**, formerly a mule-driver, iii 233 commandant of Julfa, *ibid* is sent by Ahreff ambassador to the Ottoman court, *ibid* admitted to an audience of the Grand Vizir, iii 236 his conferences with the Turkish ministers, iii 236, 237 takes his leave, iii 240 is arrested on the road by order of the Grand Signior, *ibid*.
- ABDUL BAKI KHAN**, Nadir's ambassador to Turkey, iv 133 concludes a peace, iv 135.
- ACHMED**, Grand Signior, dethroned, and succeeded by his nephew Mahommed, iv 51
- ACHMED AGA**, governor of Isfahan, iii 123 drives the Afghans from the bridge of Shiras, iii, 123 makes a folly to open a passage for provisions, iii 138 is defeated by the treachery of the Vaki of Arabia, *ibid*. his conduct unjustly blamed by Shah Hussein, *ibid* his death, iii 139
- ACHMED**, basha of Bagdad, takes possession of Loristan, iii 231 gives the Afghans battle, iii 247. is defeated, iii 248 negotiates a peace with the Persians, iv 63, 64 his vigilance, iv 81, 83 his letter to the Grand Signior upon the defeat of the Persians, iv. 78, &c. prepares to stand another siege, iv. 109, 110 his orders from the Ottoman court concerning a treaty with Nadir Shah, iv. 133 his conduct towards the Arabians, iv. 222, 223 suspected of correspondence with the Persian king, iv 223 his critical circumstances, iv 234. his part, and generosity, *ibid* the Turks disquieted at the friendship between him and Nadir, iv 235 established by the Ottoman court in his government, iv 236 an ambassador sent to him by Nadir, iv 237
- ACHMED KHAN**, a Persian general, flies from the tyranny of Nadir to Constantinople, iv. 249 distrusted, afterwards received into the confidence of the Turks, *ibid* defeats a body of Afghans returning with the plunder of the British factors at Reshd, iv 294 taken by Ibrahim Mirza, and sent to Amir Allau Khan, who destroys him, iv 298, 299

I N D E X.

AFGHANS, the authors of the catastrophe in Persia, iii 22 derive their genealogy, iii 23 inhabit mountains near the Moghols empire, *ibid* a colony of this family embraces the Mahommedan religion, *ibid* their various situation by contest between the king of Persia and the Moghols, iii 25, 26 a long time faithful to the king of Persia, iii 27 disposed to revolt, iii 27 cruelly used by the Persian troops, iii 28, 29 complain of Gurgun Khan, iii 29 the Afghans and Persians treat one another as heretics, iii 35 they revolt, iii 43, 44. nominate a successor to Mirvais, iii 59 their defeat at Kherman, iii 71 their pacific disposition, iii 88, 96 obtain a great victory at Gulnabad, iii 108 take Farabad and Julfa, iii 114, 118 their barbarities to the Armenians, *ibid* put the district of Isfahan to the sword, iii 126 defeat the troops going to relieve Isfahan, iii 129 their barbarity to the Persians, iii 143 ascend the throne of Persia, iii 145 a new colony of Afghans arrive at Isfahan, iii 167 oblige Maghmud to declare Ashreff his successor, iii 205 their conspiracy in favour of Ashreff, iii 211 totally routed by Tæhmas, iii 223 defeated at Mourtechikhor, iv 31 defeated at Shiras, iv 38 eat horse flesh, iv 147 oppose Nadir's passage through the defiles, iv 200 plunder the British factors, iv 293 are defeated, iv 294

AKBAR, emperor of India, his character set in contrast with Nadir's, iv 219, &c this emperor's letter to the king of Portugal, *ibid*

ALEXANDER THE GREAT, marches into Asia, iii 11 passes the Granicus, *ibid* obtains a victory over the Persians, iii 12 many princes submit to him, *ibid* his army increases, *ibid* died eight years after his conquest, *ibid* his acquisitions divided among the partners of his victories, *ibid* he and Nadir Shah, both made an expedition into India, iv 143 a comparison of their characters, iv 143, 144. their desire of fame and glory, iv 143 few countries that have not heard of Alexander and Nadir, iv 144 confounded the rules of religion and morality, *ibid* moral reflections on false glory, iv 144, 145 the motives of their invading India, iv 145 how

long since Alexander made his expedition, *ibid* his coming into India, and subduing king Porus, iv 162, 163 a comparison between Alexander's and Nadir's restoring the conquered kingdoms to the Indian kings, iv 194

ALI KOULI KHAN, son of Ibrahim Khan, Nadir's brother, considered as successor to Nadir, iv 246 his revolt from Nadir, iv 259 comes to Meshed on his uncle's death, iv 285 elected king of Persia, *ibid* takes the name of Adil Shah, *ibid* his clemency, *ibid* kills his nearest relations, *ibid* his cruelty to his uncle's women, iv 206 abandons himself to women and wine, *ibid* sends his brother Ibrahim Myrza for recruits at Isfahan, *ibid* confesses having a share in the murder of his uncle, *ibid* his decree sent to Reshd after his uncle's death, iv 287 marches to Ashreff, iv 289 cultivates an amity with the Turks and Russians, iv 290 his letter with pacific instructions to the Russian ambassador, *ibid* desirous of making an alliance with that court, iv 292 his favourite wife of the christian religion, iv 293 marches with his troops against his brother, iv 298 defeated by his brother, iv 297 surrenders himself, is put to death, *ibid* his short and unhappy reign, *ibid* his character, *ibid*

AMAN OLA defeats the troops going to the relief of Isfahan, iii 129 his great cruelty, iii 153 enters Cashin, *ibid* treats the inhabitants with great rigour, iii 157 wounded in the insurrection at Cashin, and makes his escape, iii 138 his pretensions to a share of the treasure and sovereignty, iii 182, 183 compromised, iii 184 affronted by Maghmud, iii 211 put to death by order of Ashreff, iii 218

AMUR ASLAN KHAN acquaints Shah Tæhmas of Ashreff's design to seize his person, iii 224 saves himself by flight, iii 225 acknowledges the sovereignty of Adil Shah, iv 290 an officer of great experience, *ibid* a favourite and copy of Nadir, iv 290, 293 revolts from Adil Shah, iv 293 sends a body of Afghans to pillage the English factors in Reshd, iv 293 promotes the rebellion of Ibrahim Myrza, *ibid* expects the diadem

I N D E X.

- diadem himself, *ibid* cut off by Ibrahim Myrza, iv 298
- ARABIA, Vali of, his conduct at the battle of Gulnabad, iii 106, 107, 108 his speech at the Divan after that battle, iii 111 made governor of Isfahan, iii 112 his treachery, iii 117, 123, 124, 125, 131 his artifices and evasions, iii 137 condemned by Maghnud to perpetual imprisonment, iii 151
- ARABIANS, rebel against the Persian government, iv 181 two tribes revolt from the Turks, iv 232 are deserted by Suliman, *ibid* turbulent and inconstant, *ibid* poverty the best expedient to keep them humble, *ibid*
- ARMENIA, the adventures of the pretended successor to that kingdom, iii 40 great part of this country brought under the Turkish yoke, iii 195
- ARMENIAN patriarch, Nadir's extraordinary conduct towards him, iv 216
- ARMENIANS, a colony settled at Julfa, iii 115 in a thriving condition, *ibid* distrusted by the Persians, iii 117 taxed by Maghnud, iii 165 heads of three of them cut off, *ibid* badly used by Tachmas Shah, iii 191 priests read the red gospel over Maghnud iii 209 gain victory over the Turks, iii 252 distressed by Nadir's taxes, leave their habitations, iv 230
- ARNAUD, of Marseilles, ransoms Topal Of man from slavery, iv 102 visits Osman, then the gran vizir, iv 105
- ARSACES succeeds his father Darius, iii 10 takes the name of Artaxerxes II *ibid* from his great memory called Mnemon, *ibid* in his reign the famous retreat of Xenophon, *ibid* he dies, *ibid*.
- ARSES, advanced to the throne by Bagoas, iii 11 assassinated *ibid*
- ARSITES disputes the crown with Darius, iii 10 gains two victories, *ibid* his soldiers corrupted, he is put to death, *ibid*
- ARTAXERXES, the son of Xerxes, ascends the throne, iii 8
- ARTEMISIUM, the Grecians obtain a victory over the Persians at sea, iii 7
- ASHIRIFF, his father deprived of his life and throne by Maghnud, iii 134 behaves with prudence and valour, *ibid* is condemned by Maghnud, iii 135 is acquitted, iii 135, 136 quits the army, iii 148 returns from Kandahar much beloved, iii 205 chosen sultan of Persia, iii 211 his character, iii 215 causes the guards and confidents of Maghnud to be put to death, iii 215 his artful behaviour to Shah Hussein, iii 217 punishes the conspirators who placed him on the throne, iii 218 his cruelty to his brother, iii 221 endeavours to render himself popular by the mildness of his administration, *ibid* and to have his sovereignty acknowledged in Kandahar, iii 222 forms a design of seizing Shah Tachmas, *ibid* takes Koom, iii 225 massacres the Persian lords who had disclosed his designs upon Tachmas, iii 226 terrified by the Ottoman arms, sends an ambassador to the Port, iii 235 fortifies Isfahan, iii 244 marches an army to meet Achmed Basfa, iii 245 his stratagem to avoid a battle with the Turks, iii 246 gains a victory over the Turks, iii 248 his artful behaviour to them iii 250 his prudent administration, iii 253 concludes a treaty of peace with the port, iii 254 sends an ambassador to Constantinople, iv 25 marches to Damgoon, and is defeated, iv 28, 29 retreats to Isfahan, and incamps at Mourchakhor, iv 29 defeated at that place, iv 31 murders Shah Hussein, and flies from Isfahan, iv 32 riches to Shiras, iv 37 is defeated there, iv 38 his flight, distress, and death, iv 39, 40 usurpation of the Afghan empire, iv 40
- ASSYRIAN empire, the first monarchy, iii 1
- ASRABAT, the Turks desert the Persians here, iv 42
- ASTRABAD, rebellion in this province, iv 244 Mahommed Hassan chosen for their leader, *ibid* takes the capital, seizes Nadir's treasure, and plunders the British caravan, iv 245 defeated by the Shah's troops, *ibid* the province ruined by this rebellion, *ibid* the amount of the loss by the plunder of the British caravan paid by Nadir's order to the factors, *ibid*.
- ATHEMAT DOULET, prime minister, confined, and his eyes put out, iii 73 articulates of accusation against him, iii 75 his answer and defence, iii 70, &c his weak and capricious character, iii 82, &c.
- AVARICE,

I N D E X.

ARABICE, its effects, iv. 233. an instance of it in the Turkish Balthas, iv. 253.

B.

BABULU KHAN, governor of Khorasan, receives Nadir in the station of a gentleman-usher, iv. 5. neglects Nadir, iv. 7. disgraces him, iv. 8.

BABYLON revolts from the king of Persia, iii. 5. is besieged, and taken by a stratagem of Zopyrus, *ibid*

BACTIARIANS, their country invaded by the Turks, iii. 231 a division between the Bactiaris and Lorians, iii. 231 spirit of dissension brings on the disgrace of both nations, *ibid* the Bactiaris and Balouches revolt from Nadir, iv. 239, 240.

BAGDAT, its situation on the Tigris, iv. 78. its antiquity, fortification, and inhabitants, iv. 79, 80. besieged by Kouli Khan, iv. 81. a great Turkish army assemble here in defiance against Nadir, iv. 131

BAGOAS kills Ochus, king of Persia, iii. 11. places Arse on the throne, *ibid* causes him and his family to be assassinated, *ibid*, is compelled to drink the poison he had prepared for the king Darius Codomanus, *ibid*.

BASSORA, under alarm from the Arabs, iv. 222. threatened with a siege from the Persians, iv. 223. the swelling of the Euphrates occasions an inundation and an epidemical disorder, iv. 253. besieged by the Persians, iv. 237. plunder, slaughter, and other consequences, *ibid*.

BENDER ABASSI, the Afghans repulsed, iii. 189.

BENGAL, the Vakeel, his sarcasm, iv. 186. kills himself and family with poison, *ibid*.

BEN-ISFAHAN, the gallant behaviour of its inhabitants, iii. 189. defeat the Afghans, iii. 167. surrenders by capitulation, iii. 166, 167.

C.

CABUL, besieged by Nadir, iv. 151. taken by storm, *ibid* puts Nadir in possession of great treasure, iv. 152. the key of the northern parts of India, iv. 155

CAMBESSES sends Cyrus to assist Cyaxares, iii. 2.

CAMBESSES, son of Cyrus, ascends the throne of Persia, iii. 3. subdues the Egyptians, *ibid*. invades Ethiopia, iii. 4. his troops destroyed by famine, *ibid* causes his brother Smerdis to be murdered, *ibid* destroys Thebes, *ibid*. causes his sister Meroe to be murdered, iii. 4. his great cruelty, *ibid*. many of his great officers buried alive, *ibid*. shoots his cup-bearer through the heart, *ibid*. an impostor usurps his crown, *ibid*. dies of an accidental wound by his own sword, iii. 5. supposed to be Ahasuerus mentioned in scripture, *ibid*.

CARA ACHMED, made general of the Turkish army, iv. 120.

CARS, the Turks, defeated by the Persians, iv. 253

CASBIN, ceded to Aman Ola, iii. 153. it surrenders to him, *ibid*. the inhabitants drive away the Afghans, iii. 157. surrenders to the Turkish general, iii. 241. declares for Ashreff, iii. 244.

CASHAN, surrendered to Zeberdest Khan, iii. 184

CHANTRON, Nadir's passage obstructed for want of a bridge, iv. 200

CIMON, his success against the Persians, iii. 8. carries the plunder to Athens, *ibid*. compels the Persians to accept of peace, iii. 9

CLIGI, a tribe of the Afghans, almost destroyed by Mahommed iii. 23.

COHKILAN, Khan of, in full march to relieve Isfahan, iii. 132. is attacked by the Afghans, *ibid* returns to his province, *ibid*. Mahmud loses a great part of his army in attempting to reduce this province, iii. 190

CONSTANTINOPLE, great rejoicings on the victory of the Turks over the Persians, iii. 197.

CRÆSUS, taken prisoner by Cyrus, iii. 2. restored to his throne, *ibid*.

CYRUS the GREAT, the Persian empire founded by him, iii. 1. his descent, iii. 2. gains a victory over the Babylonians, *ibid*. a second time victorious, *ibid*. takes Sardis, and makes Cræsus king of Lydia prisoner, *ibid*. subdues the Lesser Asia, and other countries, *ibid*. puts Balthazar and his courtiers to the sword, *ibid*. fulfils the prophecy of Daniel, *ibid* is the sole monarch of the empire of Persia, iii. 3. publishes an edict for the building

I N D E X.

building the temple of Jerusalem, *ibid* his character and death, *ibid*
CYRUS, Darius's son, his father leaves him the dominions of the Lesser Asia, *iii* 10

D

DAGISTAN, the Russian general arrives here, *iv* 226 the Lesgees apply to him, *ibid*
 Nadir meets with a repulse here, *ii* 236, 238

DAMGOON, the Afghans defeated here by the Persians, *iv* 30

DARIUS, son of Hystraspes, elected king, *iii* 5 marries two of the daughters of Cyrus, *ibid* orders the temple of Jerusalem to be built, *ibid* requires the Jewish priests to pray for him, *ibid* takes Babylon, *ibid* causes 3000 citizens to be impaled, and their walls to be demolished, *iii* 6 invades Scythia, *iii* 6 retreats, *ibid* invades India, and subdues the Ionians, *ibid* sends Mardonius against the Athenians, *ibid* invades Greece, and becomes master of the islands in the Ægean sea, *ibid* his death, *iii* 7

DARIUS surnamed Codomanus, king of Persia, *iii* 11 compels Bagoas to drink the poison he had prepared for him, *ibid* an accomplished prince, *ibid* the Grecians unite against him, *ibid* marches to meet Alexander, *iii* 12 defeated, and his wife, mother and children made prisoners, *ibid*

DGHIE, the Indian army pitch their tents in this neighbourhood, *iv* 158 the castle and city in Nadir's hands, *iv* 172 a mob kills Persian horsemen, *iv* 176 massacre in this city, *iv* 176

DERBEND, the inhabitants suffer by famine, *iv* 226 Nadir marches from hence to Mogon, *iv* 236 the Lesgees alarm the garrison, *iv* 241 and distress the city, *iv* 242

DEVAN KHAN, prime minister of India, enmity between him and Nizam Al Muluck, *iv* 140 they command the Indian army, *iv* 158 he is wounded and dies, *iv* 166, 167

E

ELEPHANTS, at the head of the Indian army, *iv* 166 the stratagem used by Nadir to oppose these animals, *ibid*

VOL IV.

EMIR HEMSE, comes to the throne of Persia, *iii* 17 murdered by the contrivance of his brother, *ibid*

EMIR KHAN, general of Ibrahim's artillery, joins his opponents, *iv* 299 turns the cannon upon him at Tahiram, and disperses his army, *ibid*

ERETRI, destroyed by Darius, *iii* 6

ERZIAN, the capital of Armenia, besieged by the Turks, *iii* 192, 193 surrenders by capitulation, *iii* 194 taken by Koul Khan, *iv* 121 a great battle fought near it between the Persians and Turks, *iv* 252 the latter defeated, *ibid*

ERZEROU, the Turks alarmed at Nadir's demands, assemble an army near this place, *iv* 230

ETHIOPIANS, invaded by Cambyfes, *iii* 4.

EVANGELISTS, Nadir orders a translation to be made into Persian, *iv* 217

EUROPEAN traders, at Isfahan, heavy contributions laid upon them by Maghmud, *iii* 164

EZADALLAH, kills his father, and is acknowledged chief of the tribe, *iii* 62 defeats the Persian army, and takes Herat, *ibid* obtains a great victory over the Persians, *iii* 66

F

FALSE GLORY, reflexions on its bad consequences, *iv* 266

FARABAD, a country palace near Isfahan, *iii* 114 a description of it, *ibid* the Afghans take possession of it, *ibid*

FENDOUN KHAN of the Kourd, commands Shah Tebmas's troops, *iii* 171 his cruelty, *ibid* defeated by the Afghans, *ibid*

G

GALITZEN KNEZ, Russian ambassador, a letter from Koulisa to him, on Adl Shah's accession to the throne, *iv* 290

GEORGIANS, the famous retreat from Kandahar, *iii* 49, 50 no assistance given by them to Shah Hussein, *iii* 133 the Turks have a view to Georgia, *iii* 175 it is brought under their dominion, *iii* 178 courage of a woman of this country, *iii* 186 descendants of the ancient Iberians, *iv* 113 a description of them, *iv* 113, 114

R r

114. refuse sending the sons of their nobility to Nadir's camp, iv. 158. a brave people, and capable of great designs, iv. 300
- GHIEZ, its situation, iii. 165, 166 besieged and taken, iii. 166. of great service to the Afghans, *ibid*
- GHILAN, subdued by Peter the Great, iii. 178 this and other towns on the Caspian yielded to the Czar by treaty, 181 iii
- GHULPAIGAN, a town attached to Tachmas, iii. 170 besieged by Maghmud, *ibid* obliged to submit to him, iii. 172
- GRECIANS obtain a victory over the Persian fleet, iii. 7
- GURGHIN-KHAN, prince of Georgia, his character, iii. 27, 28 made go error of Kandahar, and oppresses that province, iii. 28 sends Mir-vais to Isfahan, iii. 30 his conduct on the return of Mir-vais, iii. 42 demands the daughter of Mir-vais, iii. 43 Mir-vais gains his confidence, iii. 45 massacred with all his retinue, iii. 47
- GULNABAD, an account of the battle betwixt the Persians and Afghans, iii. 106. the Vali of Arabia's conduct censured, iii. 107, 108 the cause of the success of the Afghans, iii. 108.

H

- HAMADAN, besieged by the Turks, iii. 196. a treaty of peace concluded here between the Turks and Afghans, iii. 254 taken by Koulî Khan, iv. 41 a battle here, wherein the Turks are victorious over the Persians, iv. 43 this town again in the hands of the Turks, *ibid*
- HERACLIUS, a Georgian prince, prevails in Persia, i. 300 improbability of establishing him as king, *ibid*
- HERAT, independent of Persia, iii. 63 governed by Ezdallah, *ibid*
- HUSSEIN, king of Persia, his character, iii. 30 willing to quit all pretensions to Kandahar, ii. 58 prepares to attack the Abdolcees and Ousebegs, iii. 64 presides at the Di'an, at the trial of the Athemut Dulet, ii. 72 convinced of the innocence of this minister, yet persists in his accusation, iii. 24 grants a peace to the Laks, ii. 87 sends a Turkish ambassador, ii. 89 sends an ambassador to Constantinople, iii.

92. frightened by various presages, returns to Isfahan, iii. 92 calls a council after the battle of Gulnabad, iii. 110 rejects the proposals sent by Maghmud, iii. 124. behaviour during the siege of Isfahan, iii. 137 insatuated by the artifice of the Vali of Arabia, iii. 138 his designed negotiation refused by Maghmud, iii. 140 resigns the empire to the conqueror, iii. 144 the ceremony of his abdication, iii. 145 reduced to the number of five women, iii. 152. ratifies his abdication, *ibid* the bloody murder of his children by Maghmud, iii. 207. his numerous offspring and unbounded voluptuousness, iii. 208 gives an abdication to Ashreff, iii. 217 murdered by him, iv. 32.
- HUSSEIN KHAN, brother of Maghmud, commands at Kandahar, iv. 147 the town is blockaded by Nadir, iv. 149 offers to acknowledge Nadir's sovereignty, *ibid* is confirmed in his government, iv. 148

I

- IBRAHIM BASHA, grand vizir, put to death, iv. 48 leaves immense riches, iv. 48 his body dragged at a horse's tail, iv. 49
- IBRAHIM KHAN, Nadir's brother, engages the Lofscees and is killed, iv. 148
- IBRAHIM KHAN, sent by his brother Adil Shah to Isfahan to raise recruits, iv. 287. revolts, iv. 294, 295, 296 defeats his brother, and puts him to death, iv. 297. in difficulties for want of money and provisions, iv. 298 sends Emir Khan to Tahiran, who joins Ibrahim's opponents, iv. 299 his army dispersed and himself cut off, iv. 299
- Jews return to their own country, iii. 3
- IVAM, or head of the Mahomedans, the Grand Signor the only one, iii. 238 queries to the Musti concerning it, iii. 239 answers of the Musti, iii. 239, 240
- IZMIR, of Cabul, his prudence and great genius, iii. 219 used in a respectful manner by Maghmud, *ibid* his estate confiscated by Ashreff, *ibid*
- INDIA, treasures taken by that court to oppose the Persian army, iv. 153 discord among the Indian chiefs, iv. 154 the pomp and number of the Indian army, iv. 158. it camps in the plains of Karnal, iv. 159. defeated by Nadir, iv. 167. the loss of the

Indians,

I N D E X.

- Indians, iv 167 distress of their camp, iv 167, 168 number slain by the Persians in marauding, iv 172 the barbarous treatment of the Indians by the Persians in collecting the contributions, iv 187 the treasure amassed on this occasion, iv 188 value of the damage done by Nadir to the Indians, iv. 197, 198 Indian and Armenian merchants burnt alive by Nadir, iv. 258
- INDUS, the most considerable river in Asia, except the Ganges, iv 161 its course of great extent, *ibid*
- IONIAN, subdued by Darius, iv 6
- ISFAHAN, state of it after the battle of Gulnabad, iii 111 the situation and extent of this city, iii 121 its river and bridges, *ibid* its magnificence, and great number of inhabitants, iii 222 suffers by famine, iii 137, 139 great desertion, iii 139 its dreadful circumstances by famine, iii 142 the people eat human flesh, iii 143 surrender of the city, iii 145 barbarities of the Afghans, - iii 159, 160, 161, 162 a new colony of Afghans taken from Kandahar, iii 167 retaken by the Persian army, iv 33 cruelties committed here by Nadir, i 258
- ISMAEL possesses the Persian throne, iii 15 one of the greatest kings of the east, *ibid*
- ISMAEL II comes to the crown of Persia, iii 16 shut up in prison, *ibid* puts his brother to death, *ibid* dies by poison, iii 17
- ISMAEL III possesses the crown of Persia, iii 18 his throat cut by a barber, *ibid*
- ISMAEL BEG, sent ambassador to Russia, iii 180 concludes a treaty, iii 181 the particulars of that treaty, *ibid*
- ISPIRI ZADE, the Grand Signior's chaplain, his character, iv 50 assists the rebels in the conspiracy, *ibid*
- JULFA, taken by the Afghans, iii 114 when built and inhabited, iii 115
- K
- KELAT, the great repository of treasure surrendered to Adil Shah, iv 286
- KANDAHAR, that province submits to Akbar, iii 25 recovered by Shah Abbas, *ibid* falls again into the hands of the Indians, *ibid* a strong barrier between Persia and India, iii. 26 taken by Shah Abbas, *ibid* besieged by the Moghol, *ibid* restitution demanded, iii 27 the rebellion here extinguished, iii. 28 a caravan arrives from hence to Magh - mud, iii 203
- KERKOUZ, the Turks defeat Kouli Khan here, iv 86, 87
- KHALBELLI KHAN, a relation of Nadir Shah, the mutual confidence between him and the governor of Faristan, iv 240
- KHERMAN, Nadir's great barbarities here, iv 259
- KHILVA and Bokhara taken by Nadir, iv. 206 he takes from thence many thousand Persians and Ousebegs, iv 207
- KHORASAN, once favoured by Nadir, iv 258 in the same misery as other parts of Persia, iv 258
- KHOSROFF KHAN, sent against the Afghans, iii 53 obtains a victory over them, iii 54 lays siege to Kandahar, iii 55, 56 his defeat and death, iii 56 his history and character, *ibid*
- KHUDAYAR KHAN, governor of Belier, refuses to acknowledge Nadir's sovereignty, iv 202 capitulates, and gives up his riches, iv 204
- KISLAR, subject to the Russians, iv 226 built on the Persian territories, *ibid* the Russians order troops hither, *ibid*
- KOOM, Shah Hussein's children buried here, iii 218 surrenders to Ashreff by capitulation, iii 225
- KOULAR AGASSI, named Almas, endeavours to save himself by flight, iii 216 is overtaken, and put to the rack, *ibid* he slays his wife, and stabs himself, *ibid* his character, *ibid*
- KOULIFA, ambassador in Russia, his letter to Knez Galitzen, the Russian ambassador, iv 290
- KOURDS, a restless people, iii 63 commit robberies under the walls of Isfahan, iii 63
- KUMMER O'DIN KHAN, the Indian vizir, treated with severity, iv 186 obliged to pay a great contribution, *ibid* his secretary poisons himself, *ibid* remarkable story of his son, iv 190, 191
- LAHOR,

L

- LAHOR**, a fertile province in India, iv 161
the town of Lahor taken by Nadir, iv 162
he refreshes his army, iv 163 its contri-
bution to Nadir, iv 199
- LAR**, the capital of Laristan, taken and plun-
dered, iii 189
- LEILAM**, the two battles here between the
Persians and Turks, iv 97, 98
- LEONIDAS**, king of Sparta, defends the strait
at Thermopylae, ibid
- LESGEES**, a stout, hardy people, iv 224 put
Nadir's army in confusion, ibid attack his
tent, and take away some of his treasure and
women, ibid make great havoc among
the Persians, afterwards repulsed, iv 225
their letter to the Russian general, iv 226
the number of their troops, iv 227 oblige
Nadir to return into Persia, iv 227, 228
send two ambassadors to Constantinople, iv
249 offer to serve as the Swiss serve the
French, iv 250 See **TARTARS**
- LORISTAN**, Vali of, his conduct at the bat-
tle of Gulnabad, iii 107 is declared gene-
ralissimo by Shah Hussein, iii 113 his
love to his country, iii 128 makes an in-
cursion into the territory of Bagdat, iii 232
his two daughters attend him in this expe-
dition ibid
- LUTF ALI KHAN**, the Persian general, beats
the rebels, iii 71 lays contributions on the
inhabitants of Kherman, ibid sent prisoner
to court, and his army dispersed, iii 72 his
domestic enemies cabal against him, iii 73
resolves to serve Gishmas, iii 170 barba-
rously murdered, iii 173

M

- MACON**, taken by surprise, iii 172
- MAHARPATTAS**, make incursions into the
Moghol's dominions, iv 139
- MAHOMMED Shah**, the great Moghol at the
head of his army, in person, iv 158 de-
fected by the Persians, iv 167 gives power
to treat with the Persian monarch, iv 168
his interview with Nadir, iv 170, 171 his
treasure and military chest brought to Na-
dir, iv 172 he marches from

- Karnal, iv 173 enters the city of Dehlie,
iv 174 receives presents from Nadir, iv
191 his cession to Nadir of all the country
on the west of the Indus, iv 192, &c ad-
vice given by Nadir to the Moghol, iv 195
- MAHOMMED**, founder of the dynasty of the
Gaznavids, defeats the Cligi, iii 23 defeat-
ed by them, iii 24 are almost extirpated by
him, iii 24
- MAHOMMED**, nephew of Achmed, declared
sultan of Turlay, iv 51 his behaviour to
Patrona, who raised him to the throne, ibid
- MAHOMMED BASHA**, general of the Turkish
army, advances to Cars, iv 251 joins Ab-
dallah Kouproh, ibid marches to Erivan,
ibid defeated by the Persians, iv 252
slain in a second engagement, iv 253
- MAHOMMED FURRUKHSHIR**, the great Mog-
hol, his ministers acquire an unlimited au-
thority, iii 68 they seize his person, and
deprive him of his sight, ibid
- MAHOMMED HASSAN**, heads the rebellion
at Astrabad, iv 244
- MAHOMMED KHAN BALOUCHIE** declares for
Tahmas Shah at Shiraz, iv 110 defeated
by Kouli Khan, iv 111 hangs himself, ibid.
- MAHOMMED KHODA BENDE**, accepts of the
crown of Persia, iii 17 puts three of his
brothers to death, ibid his character and
reign, ibid
- MAHOMMED KOULI KHAN**, attacked by the
Turks in passing a river, iii 197
- MAHOMMED ZAMON KHAN**, governor of the
Abdollees, iii 62 routed at Herat, ibid
- MAHOMMEDANS**, two sects among them, iii
35 their different tenets, ibid
- MARATHON**, the Persians defeated in that
battle, iii 6
- MARDONIUS**, sent by Darius against the A-
thenians, iii 6 retreats over the Helle-
pont, ibid is killed in the battle of Platææ,
iii 8
- MASCATS**, take possession of Bahrain, iii
68 attack the Portuguese fleet, ibid
- MECCA** and **MEDINA**, in the former Mahom-
med was born, and in the latter buried, iii
238
- MEGABYSUS**, makes the Macedonians tribu-
tary to Persia, iii 6
- MELUCK MAGHMUD**, governor of Segestan,
marches to the relief of Isfahan, iii 140 is
corrupted by presents, iii 141 concludes a
treaty,

I N D E X.

- treaty, and makes himself master of Khorasun, *ibid.*
- MEROE**, murdered by order of her brother Cambyfes, *iii* 4.
- MESCAT**, the Imam deposed, flies with his family and treasure, *iv* 229 the Persians enter this city, *ibid.* are surprized by the Arabs, and put to the sword, *ibid.* the Mescats victorious at ser, *ibid.*
- MESCHED**, Shah Tæhmas, enters in triumph, *iv* 19 his devotion in this city, *iv* 20 great barbarities committed here by Nadir, *iv* 259, 260
- MILITARY** exploits, reflexions on their vanity, *iv* 212, &c the consequences of such exploits, *iv* 238
- MILTIADES**, defeats the Persians in the battle of Marathon, *iii* 6
- MIM BASHI**, a certain person, his skill in the use of the sabre, extraordinary, *iv* 277 made a Khan, *ibid.* Nadir's way of trying his virtue, *ibid.* his pretence for strangling the Khan, *ibid.* attacks the Shah with a sabre, *iv* 278
- MIR-AB DALLAH**, brother to Mir vais, succeeds to the government of the Afghans, *iii* 59 designs to subject Kandahar to Persia, *iii* 60
- MIR-MAGHMUD**, Mir-vais's son, murders his uncle, and is chosen king of Kandahar, *iii* 61 enters Kherman with his army, *iii* 71 is defeated by Lutf Ali Khan, *ibid.* raises an army, *iii* 97 marches to Kherman, and takes that city, *iii* 98 lays siege to Yezd, but is obliged to retire, *iii* 100 arrives at Gulnabrd, *iii* 101, 102 defeats the Persians there, *iii* 108 incamps at Cheerestan, *iii* 114 attacks Isfahan, *iii* 122, 123 repulsed at the bridge of Shirafs, *iii* 123 sends proposals of peace, *iii* 124, 125 pillages the district of Isfahan, *iii* 125, 126 his answer to the proposal of a negotiation, *iii* 140 the empire of Persia resigned to him, *iii* 144 receives the diadem, and takes possession of Isfahan, *iii* 145, 146 his ceremony of procession on ascending the throne, *iii* 148, 149 receives homage from Shah Hussein, and the grandees of Persia, *ibid.* regulates the civil policy, *iii* 150. confirms the Persians in their employments, *ibid.* punishes those who had been unfaithful to Shah Hussein, *iii* 151. his behaviour
- after the inhabitants of Casbin revolt, *iii* 158 murders the Persian lords and their children, *iii* 159, 160, 161 more massacres and barbarities committed by him, *iii* 161. takes Ghulpaigan, *iii* 160, 172 loses a great part of his army in Cokhikan, *iii* 190 raises new troops, and besieges Yezd, *iii* 203 is obliged to raise the siege, *iii* 204. jealous of Athreff, *iii* 205 undergoes a religious penance, *iii* 206 murders Hussein's children, *iii* 207 falls into a delirium, the Armenian priests read the gospel over him, *iii* 208, 209 his frightful condition, *iii* 209 his miserable death and character, *iii* 212, &c
- MIR VAIS**, his power among the Afghans, *iii* 129 his character, *ibid.* sent to Isfahan, *iii* 30 the state of Persia when he came to court, *iii* 33 his intrigues, *iii* 33, 34 he goes to Mecca, *iii* 35 proposes political doubts to the Mullahs, *iii* 36 returns to Isfahan, *ibid.* his arts to alarm the court, *iii* 37, 38 raises a suspicion against Gurghin Khan, is sent back to his own country, *iii* 41, 42 engages the Afghans to revolt, *iii* 44 massacres Gurghin Khan, takes possession of Kandahar, *iii* 47 deputies sent to him from the Persian court, *iii* 51, 52 defeats the Khans of Herat and Tavris, *iii* 53 the province of Kandahar intirely reduced, *iii* 57 his death and character, *iii* 57
- MOGHOL**, the state of his dominions before Nadir's expedition into India, *iv* 138, &c.
- See **MAHOMMED SHAH**
- MOSUL**, besieged by the Persians, *iv* 139 they raise the siege, *ibid.*
- MOURTECHAKHOR**, the Afghans defeated by the Persians here, *iv* 31
- MULLAH BASHI**, high priest in Persia, his speech at the election of Kauli Khan as king, *iv* 126 is put to death, *iv* 127
- MUNTISIKS**, a tribe of Arabians, throw off the Turkish yoke, *iv* 221 their character, *iv* 221, 222
- MUSTAPHA EFFENDI**, the Grand Signior's ambassador, concludes the peace with Nadir, *iv* 256 the conditions of the peace, *ibid.* the pompous titles assumed by these two potentates, *ibid.*
- MUSTAHA KHAN**, and Cossim Khan, of a virtuous character, favoured by Nadir, *iv* 254, 256

L

- LAHOR**, a fertile province in India, iv 161
the town of Lahor taken by Nadir, iv 162
he refreshes his army, iv 163 its contribution to Nadir, iv 199
- LAR**, the capital of Laristan, taken and plundered, iii 189
- LEILAM**, the two battles here between the Persians and Turks, iv 97, 98
- LEONIDAS**, king of Sparta, defends the strait at Thermopylæ, *ibid*
- LESSEES**, a stout, hardy people, iv 224 put Nadir's army in confusion, *ibid* attack his tent, and take away some of his treasure and women, *ibid* make great havoc among the Persians, afterwards repulsed, iv 225 their letter to the Russian general, iv 226 the number of their troops, iv 227 oblige Nadir to return into Persia, iv 227, 228 send two ambassadors to Constantinople, iv 249 offer to serve as the Swiss serve the French, iv 250 See **TARTARS**
- LORISTAN**, Vali of, his conduct at the battle of Gulnabad, iii 107 is declared generalissimo by Shah Hussein, iii 113 his love to his country, iii 128 makes an incursion into the territory of Bagdat, iii 232 his two daughters attend him in this expedition *ibid*
- LUTF ALI KHAN**, the Persian general, beats the rebels, iii 71 lays contributions on the inhabitants of Kherman, *ibid* sent prisoner to court, and his army dispersed, iii 72 his domestic enemies cabal against him, iii 73 resolves to serve Gehrmas, iii 170 barbarously murdered, iii 173

M

- MACON**, taken by surprise, iii 172
- MAHARRATTAS**, make incursions into the Mogols dominions, iv 139
- MAHOMMED SHAH**, the great Moghol at the head of his army, in person, iv 158 defeated by the Persians, iv 167 gives power to treat with the Persian monarch, iv 168 his interview with Nadir, iv 170, 171 his treasure and military chest brought to Nadir, iv 171 eludes himself and his effects and, iv 172 he marches from

- Karnal, iv 173 enters the city of Dehlie, iv 174 receives presents from Nadir, iv 191 his cession to Nadir of all the country on the west of the Indus, iv 192, &c advice given by Nadir to the Moghol, iv 195
- MAHOMMED**, founder of the dynasty of the Gaznavids, defeats the Cligi, iii 23 defeated by them, iii 24 are almost extirpated by him, iii 24
- MAHOMMED**, nephew of Achmed, declared sultan of Turkey, iv 51 his behaviour to Patrona, who raised him to the throne, *ibid*
- MAHOMMED BASHA**, general of the Turkish army, advances to Cars, iv 251 joins Abdallah Kouproli, *ibid* marches to Erivan, *ibid* defeated by the Persians, iv 252 slain in a second engagement, iv 253
- MAHOMMED FURRUKHSIR**, the great Moghol, his ministers acquire an unlimited authority, iii 68 they seize his person, and deprive him of his sight, *ibid*
- MAHOMMED HASSAN**, heads the rebellion at Astrabad, iv 244
- MAHOMMED KHAN BALOUCHE** declares for Tahmas Shah at Shiraz, iv 110 defeated by Kouli Khan, iv 111 hangs himself, *ibid*.
- MAHOMMED KHODA BEXDE**, accepts of the crown of Persia, iii 17 puts three of his brothers to death, *ibid* his character and reign, *ibid*
- MAHOMMED KOULI KHAN**, attacked by the Turks in passing a river, iii 197
- MAHOMMED ZAMON KHAN**, governor of the Abdoltees, iii 62 routed at Herat, *ibid*
- MAHOMMEDANS**, two sects among them, iii 35 their different tenets, *ibid*
- MARATHON**, the Persians defeated in that battle, iii 6
- MARDONIUS**, sent by Darius against the Athenians, ii 6 retreats over the Hellespont, *ibid* is killed in the battle of Platææ, iii 8
- MASCATS**, take possession of Baharain, iii 68 attack the Portuguese fleet, *ibid*
- MECCA** and **MEDINA**, in the former Mahomed was born, and in the latter buried, iii 238
- MEGABISUS**, makes the Macedonians tributary to Persia, iii 6
- MELUCH-NUCHUD**, governor of Segestan, marches to the relief of Isfahan, iii 140 is corrupted by presents, iii 141 concludes a treaty,

I N D E X.

- treaty, and makes himself master of Khorasan, *ibid*
- MEROE**, murdered by order of her brother Cambyfes, *iii* 4
- MESCAT**, the Imam deposed, flies with his family and treasure, *iv* 229 the Persians enter this city, *ibid* are surprized by the Arabs, and put to the sword, *ibid* the Mes cats victorious at ser, *ibid*
- MESCHED**, Shah Tahmas, enters in triumph, *iv* 19 his devotion in this city, *iv* 20 great barbarities committed here by Nadir, *iv* 259, 260
- MILITARY** exploits, reflexions on their vanity, *iv* 212, &c the consequences of such exploits, *iv* 238
- MILTIADES**, defeats the Persians in the battle of Marathon, *ii* 6
- MIM BASHI**, a certain person, his skill in the use of the sabre, extraordinary, *iv* 277 made a Khan, *ibid* Nadir's way of trying his virtue, *ibid* his pretence for strangling the Khan, *ibid* attacks the Shah with a sabre, *iv* 278
- MIR-AB DALLAH**, brother to Mir vais, succeeds to the government of the Afghans, *iii* 59 designs to subject Kandahar to Persia, *iii* 60
- MIR MAGHMUD**, Mir vais's son, murders his uncle, and is chosen king of Kandahar, *iii* 61 enters Kherman with his army, *iii* 71 is defeated by Lutf Ali Khan, *ibid* raises an army, *iii* 97 marches to Kherman, and takes that city, *iii* 98 lays siege to Yezd, but is obliged to retire, *iii* 100 arrives at Gulnabad, *iii* 101, 102 defeats the Persians there, *iii* 108 incamps at Cheerestan, *iii* 114 attacks Isfahan, *iii* 122, 123 repulsed at the bridge of Shirafs, *iii* 123 sends proposals of peace, *iii* 124, 125 pillages the district of Isfahan, *iii* 125, 126 his answer to the proposal of a negotiation, *iii* 140 the empire of Persia resigned to him, *iii* 144 receives the diadem, and takes possession of Isfahan, *iii* 145, 146 his ceremony of procession on ascending the throne, *iii* 148, 149 receives homage from Shah Hussein, and the grandes of Persia, *ibid* regulates the civil policy, *iii* 150 confirms the Persians in their employments, *ibid* punishes those who had been unfaithful to Shah Hussein, *iii* 151. his behaviour
- after the inhabitants of Casbin revolt, *iii* 158 murders the Persian lords and their children, *iii* 159, 160, 161 more massacres and barbarities committed by him, *iii* 161. takes Ghulpaigan, *iii* 160, 172 loses a great part of his army in Cokkulan, *iii* 190 raises new troops, and besieges Yezd, *iii* 203 is obliged to raise the siege, *iii* 204. jealous of Ashreff, *iii* 205 undergoes a religious penance, *iii* 206 murders Hussein's children, *iii* 207 falls into a delirium, the Armenian priests read the gospel over him, *iii* 208, 209 his frightful condition, *iii* 209 his miserable death and character, *iii* 212, &c
- MIR VAIS**, his power among the Afghans, *iii* 129 his character, *ibid* sent to Isfahan, *iii* 30 the state of Persia when he came to court, *iii* 33 his intrigues, *iii* 33, 34 he goes to Mecca, *iii* 35 proposes political doubts to the Mullahs, *iii* 36 returns to Isfahan, *ibid* his arts to alarm the court, *iii* 37, 38 raises a suspicion against Gurghin Khan, is sent back to his own country, *iii* 41, 42 engages the Afghans to revolt, *iii* 44 massacres Gurghin Khan, takes possession of Kandahar, *iii* 47 deputies sent to him from the Persian court, *iii* 51, 52 defeats the Khans of Herat and Tavis, *iii* 53 the province of Kandahar entirely reduced, *iii* 57 his death and character, *iii* 57
- MOGHOL**, the state of his dominions before Nadir's expedition into India, *iv* 138, &c. See MAHOMMED SHAH
- MOSUL**, besieged by the Persians, *iv* 139 they raise the siege, *ibid*
- MOURTCHAHOR**, the Afghans defeated by the Persians here, *iv* 31
- MULLAH BASHI**, high priest in Persia, his speech at the election of Koul Khan as king, *iv* 126 is put to death, *iv* 127
- MUNTISIAS**, a tribe of Arabians, throw off the Turkish yoke, *iv* 221 their character, *iv* 221, 222
- MUSTAFA EFFENDI**, the Grand Signor's ambassador, concludes the peace with Nadir, *iv* 256 the conditions of the peace, *ibid* the pompous titles assumed by these two potentates, *ibid*
- MUSTAFA KHAN**, and Cossin Khan, of a virtuous character, favoured by Nadir, *iv* 276,

276, 277. Mustapha Khan distinguished for his honesty, iv 284 at Nadir's death on an embassy to Constantinople, ibid

MYRZA MEHTIE, the affair of translating the evangelists put under his direction, iv 217 summons Armenian bishops, Romish missionaries, and Persian mullahs, to meet him at Isfahan, ibid the manner this translation was made, iv 218 finished in six months, ibid presented to Nadir, his reflexions upon it, ibid

N.

NACHIVAN, the Armenians here invite the Turks into their country, iii 194 brought under the Turkish yoke, iii 198

NADIR KOULI, the meaning of his name, iv 2 where born, iv 3 his father's situation, ibid bred a shepherd, ibid obliged to gather flocks for a support, ibid is carried into captivity by the Ousbegs, iv 4 returns to Khorasan, ibid a companion of robbers, ibid enters into the service of a Beg, ibid murders his fellow courier, ibid also his master the Beg, and marries his daughter, iv 5 retires with her into the mountains, ibid enters into the service of Babulu Khan, ibid noted for courage, address, and personal strength, ibid commands an expedition against the Ousbegs, iv 7 acquires honour, and is disgraced, iv 7, 8 retires to Kzelat, iv 9 retreats to the mountains for the third time, ibid robs for several years, ibid joined by the troops of Sef O Din Beg, iv 10 a pardon obtained for Nadir, iv 11 goes to Kzelat, murders his uncle, and takes the fortress of Kzelat, ibid wages war against the Afghans, iv 12, 13 takes Nichabur, and reinforces his army, ibid obtains the Shah's pardon at Farabad, iv 14 joins his forces with those under Fatey Ali Khan Khajar, iv 15, 16 Nadir kills this Khan, and acquires the sole command, iv 17, 18 conducts Shah Teymuras to Nichabur and Meshed, iv 18, 19 increases his army, iv 19 is named Teymuras by the Shah, iv 20 reduces Khorasan and Herat, iv 22, 23 returns in triumph to Meshed, iv 23 engages Shah Teymuras to remain at Tashkent, iv 30 defeats the Afghans, and enters Isfahan, iv 31, 36 obtains a victory over

them at Shiraz, iv 38 takes Hamadan and Tavis, iv 41 grants a truce to the Turks, ibid augments his army in Khorasan, iv 64 disapproves of the peace the Shah made with the Turks, iv 65, 66 makes his son governor of Khorasan, iv 67 arrives at Isfahan, iv 67 endeavours to vindicate his conduct to the Shah, iv 68 delivers letters accusing some of his courtiers, iv 69 intrigues to depose the Shah, iv 71 takes an oath to the infant king Abas, iv 73 advances his sons and brothers to the principal governments, iv 74 his manifesto disclaiming the peace with the Turks, ibid sends an ambassador to Russia, notifying the accession of Abas to the throne of Persia, iv 76 marches with an army to Bagdat, iv 77 besieges this city, iv 80, &c defeated by the Turks in the battle of Kerkoud, iv 86, 87 retires to Hamadan, iv 93 recruits his army, iv 94 his stratagem, iv 97 routs the Turkish army, iv 98, 99 acquaints the Russian court of his success, iv 109 defeats Mahommed Khan Balouche, iv 111 marches into Georgia, and takes Teflis, iv 112 takes Ginja and Shamakie, iv 115, 116 the Russians make a treaty with him, iv 207 his speech to an assembly of the chiefs of Persia, iv 124 is declared king, iv 125, 127 the conditions of his accepting the crown, iv 127 coins money, and seizes the lands of the church, iv 128, 129 takes the usual oath at Casbin, iv 132 sends an ambassador to Turkey, iv 132 marches to Isfahan, iv 135 makes preparations for an expedition against Kandahar, iv 137 how his character differs from that of Alexander the Great, iv 143, &c leaves Isfahan, iv 146 arrives at Kandahar, ibid besieges the town, iv 147 caused a number of houses to be built, ibid corresponds with discontented lords in India, iv 149 takes Cabul, iv 151 his severe discipline by ripping open eighty soldiers, iv 152 takes Cabul by storm, ibid sends an embassy, and writes to the Indian emperor, iv 154 corrupts the Indians with the plunder of Cabul, iv 155 meets with difficulties in his way to the river Indus, ibid enters into a treaty with the mountaineers, iv 156 sends another embassy to the great Moghol, ibid his pomp when he enters the Indian

territory.

I N D E X.

territories, iv. 160. passes the river Indus, iv. 161 takes Jeminabad and Labor, iv. 162 arrives on the plains of Karnal, iv. 163 the number of his army in India, iv. 164. defeats the Indian army at Karnal, iv. 166. has an interview with the Indian ministers, iv. 168 his speech to the Indian emperor, iv. 170 gives a gratuity to every soldier, iv. 173 marches from Karnal to Delhie, iv. 173, &c. orders Delhie to be massacred, iv. 176 his conduct after the massacre, iv. 178 large sums brought into his treasury, iv. 179 is dissatisfied with his sons government in Persia, iv. 180 sends a decree, confirming all governors and magistrates in their posts till his return, iv. 181. sends an ambassador to Turkey, iv. 182 the conditions his ambassador requires, *ibid* pays his soldiers their arrears, with a gratuity, in his own coin struck upon this occasion, *ibid* makes presents to the great Moghol and Indian lords, iv. 190, 191 his advice to the great Moghol, iv. 193 marches from Delhie, iv. 196 punishes deserters, *ibid* an instance of his vanity and avarice, iv. 198, 199 seizes the plunder belonging to his own soldiers, iv. 201 marches to Pershor, iv. 202 sends his treasures to Kalat, iv. 205 reduces Khieva and Bokhara, iv. 206, 207 his conduct to his son, who makes an attempt on his life, iv. 210, 211 arrives in the neighbourhood of Isfahan, iv. 211 the affliction for his darling son, iv. 212 sends an ambassador to Russia, and another to Turkey, iv. 214, 215 renews his claim to the provinces and cities formerly belonging to Persia, iv. 215 reduces the Arabi rebels and Ousebs, *ibid* orders a mausoleum to be built at Metched, iv. 216 aims at introducing a new religion into Persia, iv. 216, 217 causes a translation of the four evangelists to be made into Persian, iv. 217 marches against the Lefgees, and enters Dagistan, iv. 214 disgusted with the Russian court, iv. 228 his cruelty to the people, *ibid* his avarice and cruelty to the Persians by his exorbitant taxes, iv. 229, 230 demands from the Ottoman court the restitution of the provinces in Arzenia, Asia Minor, and Georgia, iv. 231 writes a letter to the Grand Signior, and another to the Bashah at Bagdad, iv. 232 the Turks

dread his designs against them, iv. 234 declares himself a Sunni, *ibid* his plan of a campaign against the Turks, iv. 238 punishes the rebels in Farisistan, iv. 243 orders the amount of the loss of the British caravan to be paid, *ibid* returns from Turkey into Persia, iv. 245 marches his army into the Turkish dominions, iv. 248 defeats the Turks in two battles, iv. 252, 253 makes a peace with them, iv. 254, &c. an ambassador sent from the Russian court to Nadir, iv. 259 orders the sons of the nobles of Georgia to attend his camp, iv. 257 his peevishness and cruelty at Isfahan, iv. 258 several Indian and Armenian merchants burnt alive, iv. 258 intends to massacre part of his own army, but is himself assassinated, iv. 260, 261, 262 slaughter by the Tartars after his death, *ibid* motives of Nadir's supposed intention of a massacre, *ibid* reflexions upon his death and character, iv. 263, 266 age and reign, *ibid* a great composition in his character, iv. 266 his person, *ibid* his voice strong and sonorous, iv. 267 his corporal strength great, *ibid* dexterity in the battle ax, *ibid* his memory and knowledge of the genius of the Persians, *ibid* his skill in the finances, *ibid* far advanced in life before he learned to read, iv. 268 his diet and dress, *ibid* his love of women, *ibid* his detestation of sodomy, iv. 269 punished those that were saucy upon him, iv. 270 instances of his avarice, iv. 271 it increased with his years, iv. 274. his jealousy and distrust, *ibid* his artful way of gaining the affection of his army, iv. 278 his prudence, resolution, and presence in action, iv. 279. preferred stratagem to force, iv. 280 made an ejaculatory prayer before a battle, *ibid* indefatigable in personal application, and the duty of a commander, *ibid* punctual in paying his army, iv. 281 the sole vendor of cloth, and some other commodities, to them, *ibid* capricious sometimes, pardoned great offenders, *ibid* his behaviour to his ministers, iv. 282 his conduct in the beginning of his reign, iv. 283 deluded Persia from the yoke of the Afghans, *ibid* the motives that influenced his actions, *ibid* reflexions on his tyranny by his nephew Adil Shah, iv. 287, 288 tyrannical government has reduced Persia, iv. 300

I N D E X.

NAZR ULLAH, defeats the Khan of Hamadan, iii 162, 163 pillages several parts of Persia, *ibid* sent to Farfutan, iii 170 makes himself master of the towns of that province, iii 185 is killed at the siege of Shiraz, *ibid* his death and character, *ibid* his monument erected by Maghmud, iii 186

NESR ALI MYRZA, Nadir's second son, marries the great Moghol's niece, iv 188 defeats the pretender Saun, i 242 falls a sacrifice to Adil Shah, iv 285

NISLI MAHOMMED AGA envoy from the Grand Signior to Peter the Great, iii 173 his public entry at Mosco, iii 174

NIZAM AL MULUCK, a chief in India, acquaints Nadir of the affairs at the Moghol's court, iv 142 an interview between him and Nadir, iv 168 obliged to raise a large contribution, iv 185

O

OCNUS, called Darius Nothus, ascends the throne of Persia, iii 10 puts Arsites, and others, to death, *ibid* reduces Egypt and Media, *ibid* his death, *ibid*

OCIUS, son of Artaxerxes II conceals his father's death, iii 10 goes ten months in his father's name, iii 11 makes a decree for declaring himself king, *ibid* governs in his own name, *ibid* a cruel, but a valiant prince, *ibid* recovers Egypt, *ibid* subdues Syria and Cyprus, *ibid* slain by Bagoas, *ibid*

OUSBEGS See **TARTARS**

P.

PATRONA KALIL, a janissary, brings about a revolution in Turkey, iv 44 dethrones the Sultan, iv 51 advances Mahommed, the Sultan's nephew, to the throne, *ibid* his behaviour to the new Sultan, iv 51, 52 his extraordinary adventures, iv 55, &c he and other rebels put to death in the Seraglio, iv 59

PEISHOR, a city in India, taken by Nadir, iv 157 the governor won to his interest, *ibid* Nadir advances thence to the Indus, iv 160

PENANCE, religious, Maghmud undertakes one, iii 206 most surprising and successful, *ibid*

PERSIA, its empire founded by Cyrus the Great, iii 1 the second of the four monarchies, *ibid* what occasioned their being an easy conquest to the Grecians, iii 12 the monarchy becomes a part of the Grecian empire, *ibid* this kingdom restored by Artaxerxes, iii 13 when conquered by the Saracens, *ibid* its tranquillity in the beginning of this eighteenth century, iii 22 the Afghans the authors of its catastrophe, *ibid* the corruptions of the court under Shah Hussein, iii 30, 31 the divisions and parties in Persia, iii 31, 32 the indiscreet talk of the Russian ambassador made way for the invasion of Persia, iii 42 a rebellion raised by Mir Vais at Kandahar, *ibid* a victory obtained by the Persians over the Afghans, iii 54 the Afghans defeat the Persians, iii 56 are defeated by Ezadallah, iii 66 the Persian army marches to fight the Afghans, iii 103 number of the Persian army, iii 104 their conduct towards the Armenians of Julfa, iii 116, 117 the empire resigned by Shah Hussein, iii 144 the northern provinces in Persia invaded by the Russians, iii 155 massacres by Maghmud, iii 159, 160, 161 the advantages the Czar and the Grand Signior made by the troubles of Persia, iii 176, 179, 227 a partition of the Persian dominions, iii 199 Persian lords massacred by Ashreff, iii 226 the deplorable state of the Persian monarchy, iii 227 the Persians enter Isfahan, and take revenge of the Afghans, iv 33 make peace with the Turks, iv 64 the great change in the Persian affairs by Koul Khan, iv 121 the Persians defeat the Indians, iv 166 the massacre at Delhi, iv 176 groan under Nadir's tyranny, iv 229 abandon their country, iv 230 buy horses from the Turks for the use of their army, iv 232 the distressed situation of Persia by Nadir's avrice, iv 247 they defeat the Turks in two battles, iv 252, 253 the Persian army dispersed, iv 262 the Persians polite, cunning, and deceitful, iv 275 their great confusion and calamities by Nadir's usurpation, iv 300 dreadful dissolution by the ravages of war, iv 301

PETER THE GREAT, designs to open a communication between the Caspian and Buxine seas, iii 154 sends an ambassador to Persia to complain of the Ousbegs, iii 154, 155 invades

I N D E X.

invades the northern parts of Persia, iii. 155. operations of his army, iii. 155, 156. assembles an army near Dagistan, iii. 176 his conduct in relation to Persia not agreeable to the Port, iii. 198. conferences renewed with him, iii. 199. a treaty concluded between the Czar and the Port, iii. 200. the articles of that treaty, iii. 200, 201. his death, iii. 226.

PHEDYMA, discovers the impostor Smerdis by the loss of his ears, iii. 5.

PHILIP of Macedon, chosen general against the Persians, iii. 11. murdered, and succeeded by his son Alexander, *ibid.*

PLATEÆ, the Persian army defeated here, iii. 8. Themistocles banished by the Athenians, *ibid.* chooses to poison himself rather than fight against his country, *ibid.*

PORUS, conquered by Alexander the Great, iv. 162, 163.

POULAH BASHA sent by the Seraskier to keep the post of Tahajak, iv. 95 abandons that post to the enemy, *ibid.*

PRINCE, reflexion on not paying the debts of one deceased, iv. 274.

R.

RELIGION, Nadir's project of introducing a new religion into Persia, iv. 216.

RESHD, the English factors plundered here by order of Amur Afian Khan, ii. 293.

RIVERS, Nadir's manner of throwing bridges over them, iv. 161.

RIZA KOULI MYRZA, Nadir's son, appointed by his father regent of Persia, iv. 142 his character, *ibid.* defeats the Ouseg Tartars, iv. 147. returns victorious to Meshed, *ibid.* his oppressive government, iv. 149. his bad administration displeases his father, iv. 181. makes an attempt on his father's life, iv. 209 behaves very obstinately, iv. 211 his eyes put out, *ibid.* falls a sacrifice to the jealousy of Adil Shah, iv. 285.

ROMAN conquest, 270 years after the Grecian empire, iii. 13 its duration, *ibid.*

RUSSIA, an ambassador sent from that court to Isfahan, iii. 37 strange alarms raised in Persia at his coming, iii. 37, 38. his character, iii. 39 the Russians uneasy at the conquests made by the Turks in Persia, iii. 233.

the success of the Russian arms there, iii. 233, 234 misunderstanding between the Russians and Turks, iii. 241. an ambassador sent by Kouli Khan to this court, iv. 117. conquest on the Caspian coast delivered up to Persia, iv. 117. Kouli Khan's conduct towards Russia, iv. 122 the Russians restore the dominions that belonged to the Persian empire, iv. 124 an ambassador sent to Russia by Nadir, iv. 183 one sent with presents after his return from India, iv. 214 alarmed at Nadir's being on their frontiers, iv. 226 send an ambassador to Nadir, iv. 257. proceed with great caution in oriental treaties, iv. 293.

S.

SAADIT KHAN, taken prisoner, iv. 166. has the charge of the city of Dehlie for Nadir, iv. 172 destroys himself, iv. 175.

SAID AHMED KHAN, governor of Kherman, treacherously destroyed by Afkreff, iii. 24.

SALCH BEG, assassinates Nadir Shah, iv. 261.

SAUN, a pretender sent into Persia, iv. 241. his history and appearance in Persia, iv. 241. joined by an army of Lefgees, *ibid.* marches into Shirvan, iv. 242 defeated by Nezir Ali Myrza, *ibid.* one of his eyes cut out, *ibid.* sent by Nadir with a message to the Ottoman court, *ibid.*

SALAMIS, the Persian fleet defeated here, iii. 8.

SCHIECH EIDAR, sets up a new religion, iii. 14. murdered by Russian, *ibid.* leaves behind him Ismael and two other sons, *ibid.*

SCHIAS and **SUNNIS**, two sects among the Mahomedans, iv. 129 divide the Persians and Turks, the former being Schias and the latter Sunnis, *ibid.* a decree by Nadir to unite these two sects, *ibid.*

SCYTHIANS, invade Thrace and plunder the country, iii. 6.

SEFFIE MYRZA, Shah Hussein's son, a report that he escaped and retired to Turkey, iii. 206.

SEFFIE KOULI KHAN, made general by the court of Persia, iii. 65 defeated and cut off by the Abdolcees, iii. 66 another of that name taken prisoner by the Turks, and cruelly put to death, iv. 43.

I N D E X.

SEFFIES, the time this family possessed the throne, iii 14 it ended in the person of Shah Hussein, iii 146

SHAHROKH, grandson to Nadir, uncertain whether he was a sacrifice to Adil Shah sjealousy, iv 286 declared king of Persia, iv 298 marches against the Afghans, iv 299 obliged to yield to Shah Dour, iv 300

SHALIMAR, Nadir musters his army here, iv 196 marches thence to Karnal, iv. 198

SHIPS, Nadir attempts to get a fleet of ships, iv 228

SHIRASS, besieged by the Afghans, iii 185 a supply intercepted, iii 188 distressed by famine, iii 188 taken and sacked, *ibid.* again doomed to distress and slaughter, iv. 243

SIRBULLIDHAN, an Indian lord of good reputation, iv 177 obtains the cessation of the slaughter at Dehlie, *ibid.* appointed chief collector of the Indian contributions, iv 184 his declaration to Nizam Al Muluck, iv 185

SMERDIS, the Artaxerxes of the scripture, usurps the throne, i 5 stiled the magian, *ibid.* endeavours to gain the affections of the people, *ibid.* discovered as an impostor, *ibid.* assassinated by the nobility, *ibid.*

SONPUT, Pan put, and several Indian villages plundered by the Persians, iv 174

SOGDIANUS usurps the throne of Persia, iii 9 surrenders to Ochus, *ibid.*

SULIMAN, king of Persia, iii 21 his health impaired by drunkenness and women, *ibid.* under him Persia began to decline, *ibid.*

SULIMAN, uncle to Shah Tæhmas, assumes the diadem, iv 299 soon becomes a sacrifice, iv 300

SULIMAN EFFENDI, sent by the Turks into Persia, iv 23 acquaints his court of an approaching change in Persia, *ibid.*

SULIMAN, the lieutenant of Achmed Basha, defeats the Arabians, iv 232 returns home with a rich booty, *ibid.*

SULTAN MEYDAN, plans where Nadir calls before him the chiefs of the Tartars, iv 261 disclosed a design of massacring a great part of his army, *ibid.* the conference overheard by a Georgian slave, iv 261

SUNNIS, the Grand Signior claims authority over this sect of Mahomedans, iv 25

SWEDES, at war with the Russians, iv. 232 desire the Turks to break with their enemies, *ibid.*

SYRIA, subject to Seleucus, iii 13

T.

TÆHMAS, ascends the Persian throne, iii 15 his wars with Suliman the Grand Signior, *ibid.*

TÆHMAS MYRSA, declared successor to his father Hussein, iii 133 escapes from Isfahan, iii 136 takes the title of king, iii 152 endeavours to recover his dominions, iii 168 sends an ambassador to the Port, iii. 179 yields Ghilan and other towns to the Czar, iii 181 his conduct towards the Armenians, iii 191 routs a body of Afghans, iii 223 escapes from Ashreff, iii 225 endeavours to negotiate a treaty with the Russians and Turks, iii 242, 243 lives obscurely at Farabad in Mazanderan, iv 10 sends an ambassador to the Port, iv 23 defeats Ashreff, iv 29 enters Isfahan, iv 34 gives his general, Kouli Khan, the power of raising money, iv 36 marches to Erivan, and obtains some advantages over the Turks, iv 42 afterwards defeated at Aftabat, and regained at Hamadan, iv 42, 43 makes peace with the Turks, iv 64 gives up Armenia, Erivan and Georgia, *ibid.* his pacific measures not agreeable to Kouli Khan, iv 65. put to death by the contrivance of Riza Kouli Myrza, iv 208, 209 the last of the Seffie family, iv 209

TAGHI KHAN, governor of Faristan, a Beglerbeg, iv 240 the honours allowed him, *ibid.* his revolt and character, iv 243 Shirafs taken by storm, *ibid.* carried to Isfahan with his favourite wife and relations, *ibid.* their punishment, *ibid.*

TAMARAS KHAN, a general of great experience, iv 259 revolts from Nadir, *ibid.*

TAMERLANE conquers Bajazet, iii 13 subduces Persia, *ibid.* his death, *ibid.*

TANISEER, an Indian town, plundered, and put to the sword by Nadir, iv 199

TARTARS, Oulbeg, invade the province of Herat, iii 24. are obliged by Abus, king of Persia, to retire, iii 25 make incursions into Khorasan, iii 63 Nadir's manner of treating them, iv 278

I N D E X.

TARTARS, Lefgees, their natural disposition, iii 63 their motives to invade Persia, iii 64 obtain a victory over the Persians, iii 85 sue for a reconciliation, *ibid* invade Shirvan, and take Shamakie, iii 93, 94 commit great cruelties here, iii 94 occasion great consternation at the Persian court, iii 95 take possession of the rest of Shirvan, iii 95 beat the Khan of Erivan, *ibid* and lay siege to Ganja, iii 96 See **LESGEES**.

TAVRIS, one of the finest cities in the east, iii 195 besieged by the Turks, *ibid* the inhabitants defeat them, *ibid* besieged by a great army of Turks, iii 228 taken after a bloody contest, iv 229, 230

THEBES, plundered and demolished by Cambyses, iii 4

THEMISTOCLES, defeats the Persian fleet at Salamis, iii 8

TIRINS, Murvâs conceals a conspiracy with that tribe, iii 46.

TOPAL OSMAN BASHA, appointed generalissimo of the Turkish army, iv 75 his stratagem, iv 84 defeats the Persians near Bagdat, iv 86, 87 sends his army into quarters, iv 93 killed, and the Turks routed, iv 98 his body sent to Bagdat, iv 99 his education in the Seraglio, iv 100 sent by the Sultan to the basha of Cairo, iv 101 taken by a Spanish privateer, *ibid* ransomed from slavery by a native of Marseilles, iv 101, 102 his gratitude to his benefactor, iv 102, 103 made seraskier, iv 103 made governor of Romania, *ibid* his benefactor and his son kindly received there, iv 104 made grand vizir, *ibid* receives his deliverer at Constantinople, *ibid* is displaced, and made basha of Trebisonde, iv 107 ordered to command the Ottoman armies, *ibid* his son promoted by the Grand Signior, iv 108 his good character, *ibid*

TURKEY, a surprising revolution here, iv 44, &c the grand vizir, and other officers, out to death, iv 48 the Sultan dethroned, and his nephew Mahomed declared emperor of the Ottomans, iv 51 a rebellion breaks out a second time, iv 61 the rebels dispersed, iv 62

TURKISH ambassador, sent to the court of Persia, iii 89. the ceremony of admission

to audience, iii 90. a Turkish envoy arrives at Isfahan, iii 161. watched by the Afghans, *ibid*. soon ordered to depart, iii 162

TURKS, extend their conquests in Persia, iii 157 an envoy sent to the Czar from the emperor of the Turks, iii 177 he requires the Czar to withdraw his troops from Derbend, iii 175 their conduct during the troubles in Persia, iii 177 the Port dissatisfied with the Czar's conduct, iii 198 take Tavis and Garja, iii 229, 230 their army advance within four and twenty leagues of Isfahan, iii 232. evade settling the limits of their conquests in Persia with the Russian resident, iii 234 dispute between two Turkish generals, iii 241 are defeated by the Afghans, iii 248 the situation of the Port in regard to other powers, iii 250, 251 the Turks make great preparations against the Afghans, iii 252 unsuccessful against the Armenians, *ibid* send commissioners into Persia to treat with Ashreff, iii 253 a treaty concluded between the Turks and Afghans, iii 254 attack the Persian camp, iv 42 cruelly use a Persian officer, iv 43 make an advantageous peace with the Persians, iv 64 declare war against the Persians, iv 75 defeat the Persians at Kerkoud and Leilam, iv 86, 87, 97 are routed by the Persians, iv 98, 99 desirous of peace with Persia, iv 116 prepare for war with Russia, iv 122. an ambassador sent by Nadir with presents after his return from India, iv 214, 215. conclude a peace with the Russians and Imperialists, iv 214 their dangerous situation on account of Nadir's demands, iv 230 the conduct of this court imprudent with regard to the governor of Bagdat, iv 235 intrigues of the Ottoman court, iv 236 they make great preparations for war, iv 248 defeated by the Persians in two battles, iv 252, 253 the European Turks enervated on entering Asia, iv 255 a peace concluded with the Persians, iv 256, 257.

V

VACHTANGA, declared Veli of Georgia, ii 86 preparations made by him against the Lezge,

Lefgees, *ibid.* who are faved by a court-intrigue, *iii.* 87. takes an oath never to appear in arms in favour of Perfia, *ibid.* his affiftance is defired by Shah Huflein, but refufed, *iii.* 132, 133. depofed, and takes refuge at the Ruffian court, *iii.* 169, 170.

W.

WAR, the instrument of divine juftice, *iv.* 301. not from the original conftitution of things, *ibid.* the dreadful defolations by war in Perfia, *ibid.*

X.

XERXES, fucceeds his father Darius, *iii.* 7. reduces Egypt, *ibid.* prepares to conquer Greece, *ibid.* lofes twenty thoufand men at Thermopylæ, *ibid.* plunders the temple at Delphos, *iii.* 7. plunders, and burns Athens, *iii.* 8. his vaft army defeated at Platæ, *iii.* 8. abandons himfelf to pleasures, *ibid.* murdered while fleeping, *ibid.*

XERXES II. murdered forty-five days after his acceffion, *iii.* 9.

Z.

ZEBERDEST KHAN, formerly taken prifoner by the Afghans, *iii.* 165. Glue taken by him, *iii.* 165, 166. Ben-Ifahan furrenders to him, *iii.* 166, 167. returns to Ifahan with booty and provifions, *iii.* 167. takes Shirafs, *iii.* 187. his eftate feized by Afhreff, *iii.* 219.

ZEKARIAH KHAN, governor of Lahor, meets Nadir with a large contribution, *iv.* 199. ordered by Nadir to furnifh his army with provifions, *iv.* 203.

ZOPYRUS, his furprifing ftratagem in betraying Babylon to Darius, *iii.* 5.

ZORAB KHAN, a Georgian, promoted to the offices of treafurer and general by Adil Shah, *iv.* 295. fent by the Shah to Ibrahim Myrza his brother at Ifahan, *ibid.* treacheroufly killed there, *ibid.*

ZORUBABEL, the Jews return under his conduct, *iii.* 3.

A N

E X P L A N A T I O N

O F

Several FOREIGN WORDS in the FOUR VOLUMES.

Note, p denotes Persia. T. Turkey r Russia. i India. a Afghans t. Tartars
fig sign figs.

Note, *The numerals refer to the volumes, and the figures to the pages*

A

Abubeiker, Omar, Osman and Ali, iii 240
iv 130 *successors of Mahammed and Caliphs, T*
Adeliah, iii 35 *feet of Ali, fig feet of the just, p*
Aeysh Mahl, iv 174 *fig place of joy, i*
Afshars, i 252 *tribe of Tartars*
Aivan, *commonly called Divan, i 189 an apartment, p*
Ali, Gheibellai, Mahallade, Mouza, and Huf sein, iv 74 *prophets, p*
Ali, i 338 *the immediate successor of Mahammed, according to the Persians, p*
Allah kerim, iv 105 *the providence of God, T*
Allah akbah, iv 131 *God is greatest, p*
Allah, iv 217 *God, T p t, &c*
Arri begi, iv 160 *presenter of petitions, p*
Ashreff, iii 134 *fig i ble, a*
Azof jah, iv 141 *fig Salem's vizir, i*
Aslotra, i 125 *a fish in the Volga, r*
Ath mat doulet, iii 41 *prune minister, p.*

B

B. Strians, i 302 *See Khars*
Bakhtiar, iii 127 *fig happy, p*
Balks, i 180 *fir trees, r*
Balouches, i 253 *a trib of Afghans*
Bannians, iv 72 *trailing people, i*
Barranni, iv 164 *ring cats, i.*
Bater, i 348 *a Lero, t*
Vol. IV

Bayots, iv 10 *inhabitants of Bayad in Koubestan, p*
Bayram, iv 107 *a festival, T*
Bazar, i 234 *market place, p*
B. zoubund, iv 191 *repaft, i*
Bevra, iv 184 *forced contribution, i*
Bechik, iv 82 *a litter or cradle, T*
Beg, ii 195 *a rank answering to our knights, p.*
Begleibeg, iv 5 *1 rd of l ed, p*
Beluga, i 25 *a fish in the Volga, r.*
Becalls, i 127 *Certain cups, r*
Bostanois, iv 46 *guards of the seraglio T.*
Bourlacks, i 103 *watermen*
Bul, iii 78 *a seal in Persia, p.*

C

Caalleans, i 171 *machines to smoke tobacco, p*
Castan, iv 59 *a coat of l near, T*
Calentar, i 197 iii 29 *collector of taxes, p*
Calph, *See Abubeikar, &c.*
Carack, iii 84 *a pe l tax, p*
Cas Oda, iv 51 *the part in the seraglio where princes are kept confined, T*
Cav ar, *See Iera*
Chamatavoi yerlique, i 87 *a clearance, r.*
Charka, ii 9 *a cup f r brandy, r*
Cheik, iii 92 *a name given to the kurgs of Persia*
Cic a Eidar, iv 26 *father of Ismael, scander of the Seffie dynasty, p*
Cher ffs, iii 29 *descendants of Mal named, a*

U u

C. a. x,

EXPLANATION OF FOREIGN WORDS.

Keshikchi, i 249 *watch guard*, p.
 Khajars, i 193 *ancient Bactrians*, p
 Khalaet, iii 41 iv 190 *a robe of honour*, p
 Khan, i 193, 200 iii 53 *lord or noble*
 Khoobah, iii 57, 254 *a prayer for the health
 of the king*, p
 Kiaya, iv 45, 332 *deputy or lieutenant*, T
 Kior Siltan, iii 185 *one eye d lord*, a
 Kirjims, i 194 *small boats*, p
 Kissar aga, i 91. iv 164 *chief of the ex
 nuchs*, T
 Kisveran, iii 208 *year of virgins*, p
 Kizil, i 161 *red*, p
 Kouch kaleffi, iv 80 *bird tower* T
 Koul, iv 2 *a slave*, T
 Koulc i 120 *a measure*, r
 Kouller agaffi, i 251 iii 84, 216 *chief of the
 slaves*, T
 Kouruck, iv 173 *attendance who clear the
 way*, p
 Kouroul, iv 164 *van guard*, p
 Kulams, iii 103 *fig slaves, an order of sol-
 diers*, p
 Kumees, i 347 *mares milk fermented*, t
 Kurchi bachi, iii 73 *general of the household
 troops*, p
 Kurumfack, i 234. a *rafsal*, p
 Kuzzlebashi, iii 90, 224 *an order of soldiery*, p.

L

Lack, iv 155 *a hundred thousand rupees*, i
 Lats, iv 62 *inhabitants of the coast of the
 black sea*
 Loobkas, i 57 *boats*, r.
 Lotkas, i 18 *matts*, r

M

Magi, iii 23 *See Persces*
 Maimoundgi, iv 141 *a quack doctor*, i
 Malek, Shafi, Hanbal, and Abul Hanifa, iv
 126 *Turkish doctors*
 Malika al Zuman, iv 172 *fig queen of the
 times*, i
 Mansubdars, iv 184 *public officers*, i
 Manna, i 129 *a feed*, r
 Matim, iv 190 *death*, p
 Meidan, iii 65 *a square*, p
 Mimbashis, iv 7 *commander of a thousand*, p
See Hazare
 Mir Bukhshi, iii 68 *general paymaster*, p
 Mir chekar bachi, iii 33 *grand veneur, answers
 to our master of the back hounds*, p

Moezins, iii 247 *callers to prayers*, T
 Moghol poura, iv 179 *Tartar Moals*, i
 Mortifa ali, iv 130 *See Ali*
 Mourcha, iv 159 *an entrenchment*, i
 Moum feundurain, i 384 *extinguishers of
 candles, a feed*, p
 Musti iii 148 iv 45 *the first ecclesiastic*, T.
 Mahaffis, iv 137 *collectors of taxes*, p
 Muhofiz, iv 236 *governor of a citadel*, T
 Mullah, i 266 iii 35, 72 *fig a guide or di-
 rector, a priest*, p
 Mullah bathi, iv 126 *high priest, or first ec-
 clesiastic*, p
 Mustaphi, i 23 *a writer*, p
 Mustafi Miemaleh, i 336 *general overseer of
 the empire*, p
 Myrza, iii 31 *a writer, after a name, fig also
 prince*, p

N

Nachlathema, iii 210 *a solemn deed on oath*, p.
 Naptha, i 133 *a bituminous matter*
 Naemets, i 226 *felts of hair*, p
 Naflakhchi, iii 104 *forlorn hope of the Af-
 bans, also an order of soldiers in the Persian
 army*
 Naflakhchi bashi, iv 172 *the officer who
 makes seizures*, p.
 Nevrouz, i 343 *new years day*, p

O

Oufmat, iii 227 *chief of the Lesgees*, t
 Ordou cadi, iv 99 *intendant of the army*, T
 Omra, iv 139 *a prince or lord*, i

P

Padisha, iii 243 iv 120 *emperor*, T.
 Pahr gunj, iv 176 *granaries*, i
 Peiscuth, iv 171, 184 *free gift*, i
 Pichkhanna, iv 153, *royal tents*, i
 Peleuk, iii 32 *a feed*, p.
 Persces, iii 98 *warriors of fire* *See Magi
 and Gebres*
 Poderatchick, i 87 *master carrier*, r
 Poderofnoi i 85 *order for horses*, r.
 Pood, i 57 36 lbs *English*, r

Q

Quaffi, ii 9 *a liquor*, r.

R

Ragam, i 215 *a royal decree*, p
 Ral dar, i 226 iv. 230 *toll gatherers*, p
 Rcy